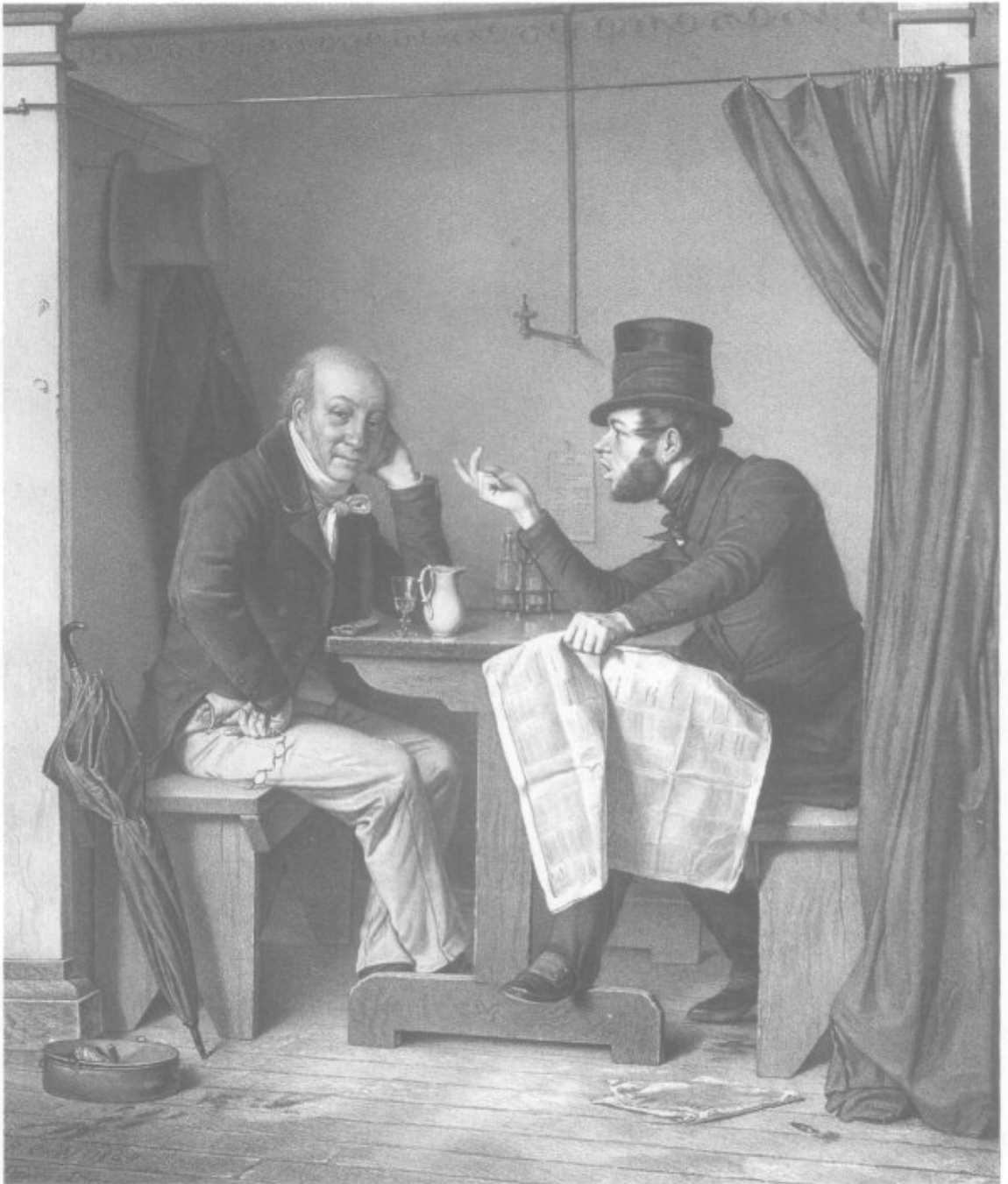


MARYLAND *Historical Magazine*



THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Founded 1844

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MARYLAND

Historical Magazine

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Live a Little

The Society for Historians of the Early American Republic will converge on Baltimore next July around the theme "Lived Lives in the Early Republic." They invite proposals "geared toward fostering dialogue and reflection on biography, case study, and exploration of the individual instance as they may serve as windows on the period."

As historical developments go, this one is promising. Historians focusing on lived lives will presumably draw upon daily diaries, recorded records, lettered letters, printed prints (photographed photographs did not appear until later) and archived archives to portray portraits of those who actually lived before they actually died. Scholars who have been toiling in vain amidst archives, letters, diaries and records without gaining any insight whatsoever can now sink back and sigh with relief: help is on the way. Surely, by rediscovering "lived lives," by which the conference means real people though not well known ones, we will glimpse something new and different about the past. Casting aside the puffed-up tautology, it's an excellent idea.

So good, in fact, that it has made the *New York Times*' Bestseller List, most recently in a superb little book entitled *Isaac's Storm: A Man, a Time, and the Deadliest Hurricane in History* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000). "It is one thing to write Great Man history, quite another to explore the lives of history's little men," rightly notes author Erik Larson, who has written for *Time*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper's*, and the *New Yorker*, among others. Isaac Monroe Cline was indeed a little man, a nobody from Tennessee who joined the infant U.S. Weather Bureau and tried to learn about hurricanes. He learned much—but not enough, and the weather service to which he belonged haughtily dismissed the efforts of Cuban hurricane forecasters in August and September 1900 as one of history's most terrible storms passed over the Caribbean, surged into the Gulf of Mexico, and bore down on Galveston, Texas.

Larson pieced together the story of this one man and a few of his neighbors from what little evidence they left behind. He also studied the Weather Bureau and the nature and history of hurricanes. The result is a page-turner, compelling to historian and non-historian alike and alive with colorful detail. On Texas weather: General Philip H. Sheridan said, "If I owned Texas and hell, I'd rent out Texas and live in hell." Frantic people caught in the raging flood climbed trees to survive; so did venomous snakes. More than six thousand died, most from drowning, and the city was crippled. New York State sent \$93,695.77 in flood relief, the Colored Eureka Brass Band of Thibodaux, Louisiana sent \$24, the Kansas State Insane Asylum sent \$12.25, the State of New Hampshire, \$1.

Isaac's Storm is, above everything, a clear window into life in Galveston and a look at the hubris of an age that thought science and technology (sound familiar?) could master the elements. In that regard Ocean City should take careful note. Like Ocean City, Galveston is on an island, with a bay to the west. In 1900 the storm first pushed bay water into Galveston, then with parts of the island already flooded struck suddenly from the other direction with a fifteen-foot Gulf storm surge propelled by 150 mph winds.

Entertaining and informative as it is, this book contains more than a warning for Maryland's and Delaware's overcrowded beach resorts. It is an object lesson for those who study and write history. Right now academic history is fragmented into what the *Times* calls the "humpty-dumpty of scholarship," micro-studies of small, diverse, often fringe groups. Some believe that years of proving the existence of, and refining our understanding of, race/class/gender struggles will lead to a new synthesis; others are less sanguine. But while we're waiting let us remember that while the "little people" of history were suffering, or inflicting, power, abuse, and bias, a great many other things were going on. If a few more writers/historians looked into it and came up with books like this, would that be such a bad thing?

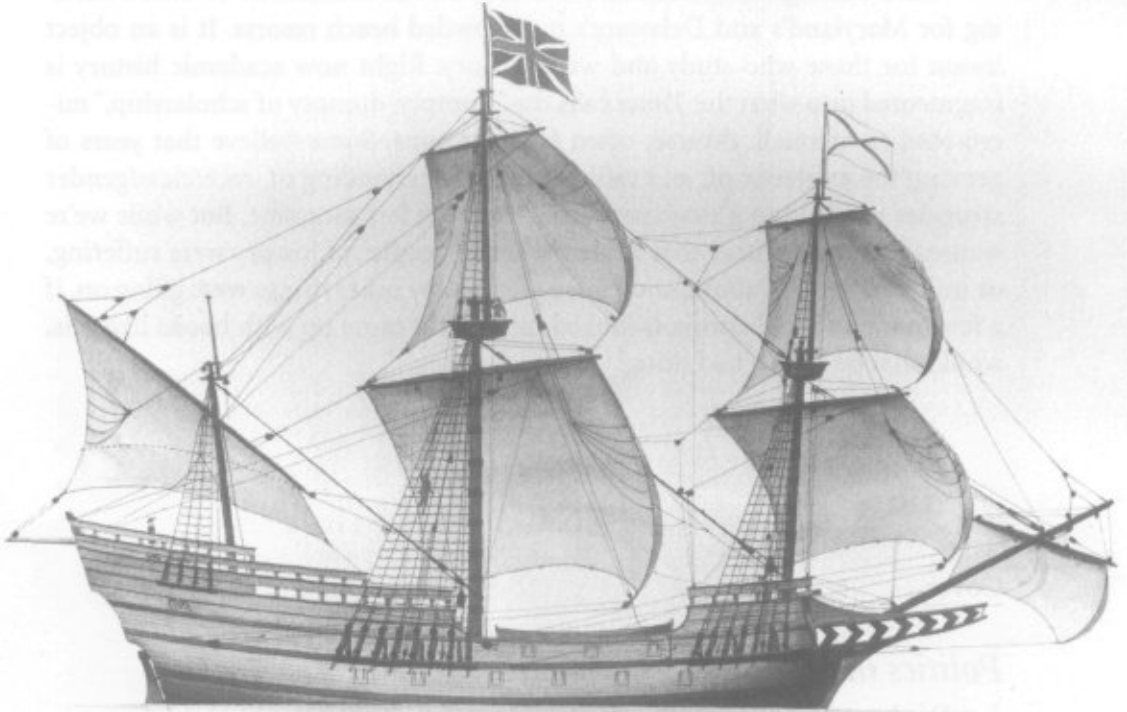
R.I.C.

Cover

Politics in an Oyster House, *by Richard Caton Woodville, 1848*

By the 1830s most white men could cast their vote, regardless of wealth or ethnic origin. Nineteenth-century party politics, formerly a gentlemen's arena in which men of wealth fulfilled their civic obligations, often turned violent as the tensions of the new nation played out within the new two-party system in an openly corrupt world of backroom deals. Big city machine bosses dispensed municipal jobs and building contracts as rewards for party allegiance, engendering voter loyalty from generation to generation. New immigrants, many in desperate need of practical assistance in the pre-welfare world of the industrial city, exchanged their vote for food, shelter, and work. Despite blatant episodes of graft, corruption, and violence, 90 percent of American voters cast their ballots in most elections.

P.D.A.



The Ark of Maryland, also known as the Ark of London. (From a painting by Peter Egli, now on display at the Historic St. Mary's City Visitor's Center.)

The Master of the Ark: A Seventeenth-Century Chronicle

WILLIAM W. LOWE

English shipmasters of the mid-seventeenth century played a young man's rough and dangerous game. Not only did they deal with storms, accidents, spoilage, disease, lack of accurate methods for navigation, the limitations of their square-rigged ships and other perils of the sea, they also faced battles at sea with pirates and ships of hostile nations. In the broader view, they were pawns in the struggles by European powers for colonies and the domination of trade. Their fate depended on luck, their own skill and that of their crews, and on whether they had timely news of who was currently at war with whom, what treaties had been made or violated, and whether ships or landfalls they sighted were in the hands of friend or foe. They frequently became involved in disputes in Admiralty Court and were influenced by the evolution of joint stock and regulated trading companies. Beyond that, they were affected by a society in England that was rife with political intrigue, commercial rivalries, fundamental religious divisions and, in the 1640s, civil war. Their lives were often short and violent. Yet they with their crews and ships became the sinews of the emerging British Empire as their counterparts had been before them for Imperial Spain.

Typical of English merchant shipmasters of the mid-seventeenth century were Richard Lowe and his son-in-law, Nathaniel Chesson. Starting between the ages of twelve and fourteen, they would have served seven or more years at sea as apprentice mariners.¹ They both had command of a ship by the time they were in their mid-twenties. Thereafter they spent about two-thirds of each year carrying cargo, colonists, and traders between London and the Chesapeake Bay. By the summer of 1633 Lowe, in his mid-thirties, was master of the 350-ton (burden) *Ark of London* (a.k.a. *Ark of Maryland*²) which brought the first of Lord Baltimore's settlers from England to the colony of Maryland in 1633–34. By 1650/os,³ Chesson was in command of the thirty-six-gun *William and John*, a merchant ship and private man-of-war. Both men lived in Ratcliff, a village favored by sailors near the docks on the river Thames, a few miles downstream from the City of London. Lowe and Chesson eventually died at sea on their ships. They left young widows and children at home, including their namesakes and only living sons who later died in their early twenties, one at sea and one "in ye parts beyond the seas."

Lowe went to sea as early as 1615 and by 1627 had a command when the 130-

Mr. Lowe is a sailor and independent scholar of seventeenth-century English nautical history. He is unrelated to the master of the Ark.

ton *Ann of London* of which he was master cleared London for Virginia, bearing letters of marque.⁴ By 1630 he was master of the 160-ton *Charity*. In 1633 a High Court of Admiralty case dealt with the disposition of tobacco "brought to London in the ship *Charity*, Mr. Richard Lowe" master.⁵ Lowe died in the spring of 1639/ns aboard a ship named the *Ark*, probably the *Ark of London*, of which he owned a three-sixteenths share. He was in his late thirties or early forties. His thirty-four-year-old widow, Jane, was left with four children: Jane fourteen, Alice twelve, Elizabeth five, and Richard four. From 1627 until his death twelve years later in 1639, he had been a merchant ship captain for at least ten and possibly some twenty transatlantic crossings including at least four and possibly twelve as master of the *Ark of London*.

Nathaniel Chesson (alternately Jesson) in 1646 at age twenty-four married Lowe's nineteen-year-old daughter Alice, eight years after her father's death. Chesson had probably gone to sea as an apprentice mariner before 1635. He first appears as a captain on February 7, 1651/os, when the *William and John* under his command seized a prize, the *Golden Lyon*,⁶ two hundred tons and eighteen guns, owned by Peter de Leeun and others of the Spanish Dominions in Flanders as she lay anchored in the James River in Virginia. A year later in January 1652/os, the *William and John* with 120 men and thirty-six guns had joined about eighty armed British ships that on the evening of February 18, 1652/os, encountered a like number of Dutch warships convoying several hundred Dutch merchantmen in the English Channel. In the ensuing bloody melee that lasted three days and came to be known as the Battle of Portland of the First Dutch War, more than three thousand men died. An account of the battle dated February 21, 1652/os, noted, "Captain Chessons has been slain,"⁷ and a letter of March 4, 1652/os, from Robert Blackborne to Captain Badiley reads: "We lost Capts. Ball, Mildmay, Barker, Chesson and Tatnell which has been a great saddening of our spirits."⁸ Chesson was twenty-nine years old when he died. Perhaps in anticipation of the fortunes of battle he had made his will three weeks earlier. It was probated in London in June.⁹ His twenty-four-year-old widow was left with a seven-month-old infant, Nathaniel, and two young daughters.

During Richard Lowe's voyages to America before 1636, Turkish (i.e., Mediterranean) pirates operated with impunity in the southern part of the English Channel and on the sea route to America as it passed by Spain and Africa. At times pirates from Dunkirk essentially blockaded the east coast of England. The English navy was ineffective as a force to protect merchant ships. Lack of money, inept administration, pervasive corruption and ill-treatment of its sailors disabled it. Many of its captains were not trained mariners. It had been in decline from the death of Elizabeth in 1603 until the beginning of the English Civil War in 1642.¹⁰ Merchant ship owners and masters had not yet organized convoys for defense.

In the 1630s the French and Dutch continued to challenge England in the

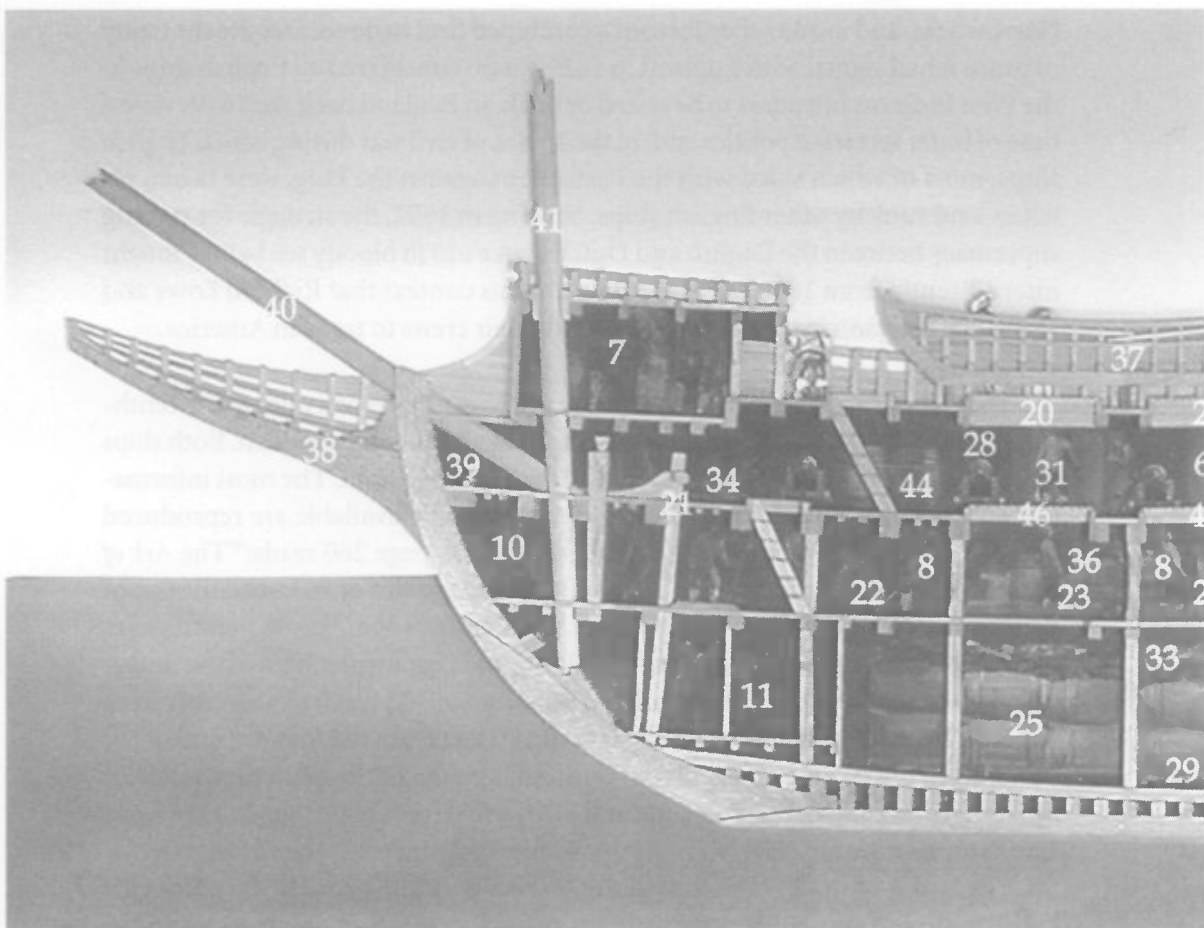
Narrow Seas, and in 1635 they formed a combined fleet to do so. Despite the treaty of peace it had signed with England in 1629, Spain considered all English ships in the West Indies as intruders to be seized or sunk. In England itself the 1630s were a time of bitter sectarian politics and, in the 1640s, of civil war during which English ships, most of which sided with the Parliament against the king, were taken, retaken, and sunk by other English ships. Starting in 1652, the struggle for trading supremacy between the English and Dutch broke out in bloody sea battles fought intermittently from 1652 to 1674.¹¹ It was in this context that Richard Lowe and Nathaniel Chesson in succession sailed with their crews to trade in America.

The *Ark* and the *William and John* were prime examples of a mid-seventeenth-century English shipmaster's principal piece of professional equipment. Both ships were built for trade across the seas and were equipped to fight. The most informative and accurate representations of the *Ark* currently available are reproduced here.¹² The carefully worded text on the painting on page 260 reads: "The *Ark of Maryland*. A reconstruction of a 'Kingbuilt' merchantman of 1633 and the size of Baltimore's ship. Length 125 feet, beam 32, draft 15, tons 358."¹³ Both paintings are consistent with what is known of shipbuilding and rigging practices of the time.¹⁴ The *Ark* with a "length" from stem-head to taffrail of 125 feet had a weather deck about 112 feet long and an overall length of 170 feet from the forward end of the bowsprit to the aft end of the mizzen bumkin. The top of the main topmast rises ninety-five feet above the waterline and eighty-five feet above the weather deck. The mainmast would have been about two feet in diameter at the weather deck.

The layout of spaces (*overleaf*) in the *Ark* was typical. The master's cabin is the highest and farthest aft. It was small but provided easy and quick access to the quarterdeck from whence the ship was managed. The main cabin, the large one directly below the master's cabin, provided quarters for owners and ranking officers when present and there was enough room in it to lay out charts for plotting progress and courses. In the absence of ranking personages, it could serve as master's quarters.

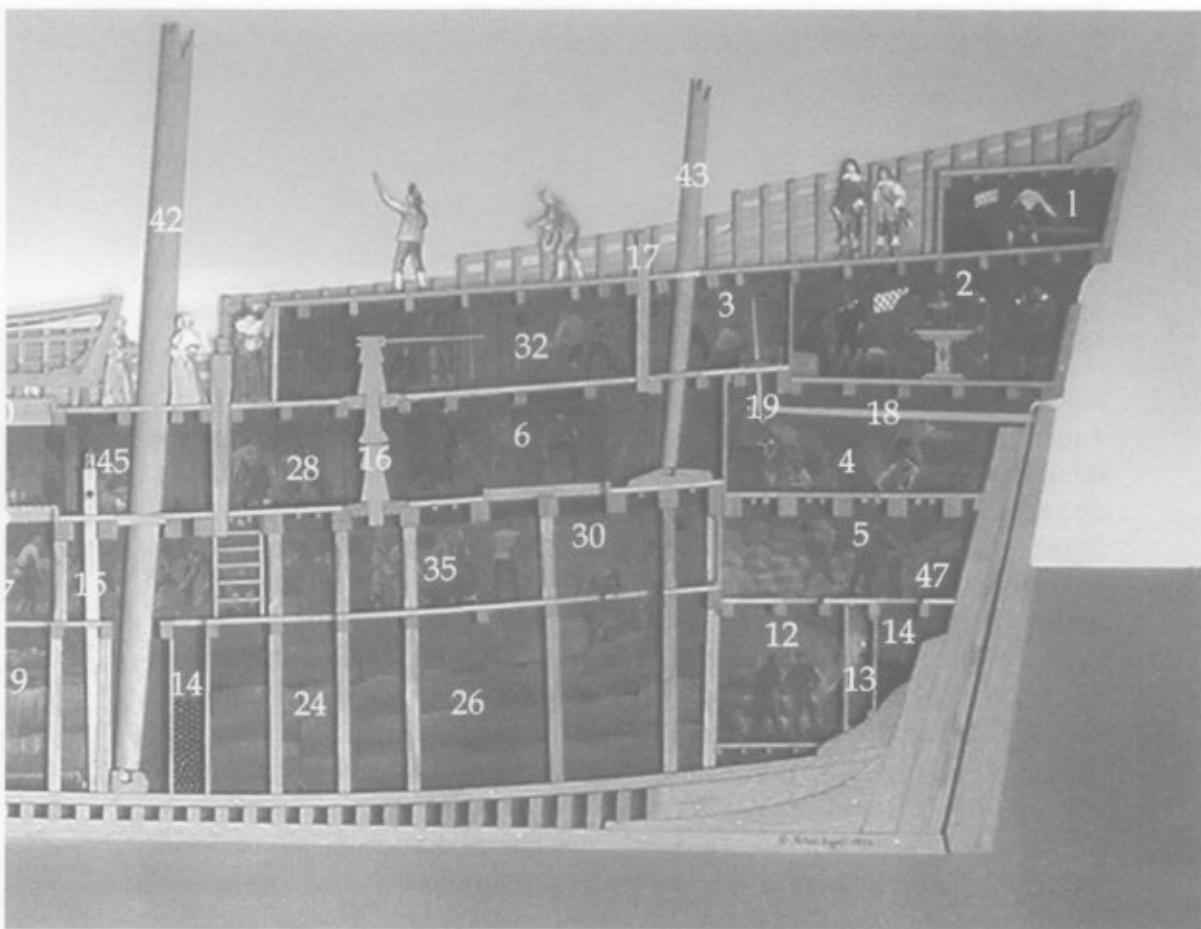
The earliest known representation of the *Ark* is a plaster bas-relief on the ceiling of Hook House, Lord Baltimore's home in Wiltshire, England,¹⁵ made sometime after 1633 and before 1649. Brewington characterizes it as "the only known contemporary representation of any of the many ships that brought the original settlers to the British North American colonies."¹⁶

The nature of the *Ark*'s battery is not known. It may have included demi-culverins and sakars. Both types of cannon were mounted on four-wheel wooden carriages. Demi-culverins were favored as the large guns for armed merchant ships of the time. They weighed about three thousand pounds each, were commonly nine feet long with a 4 1/4-inch bore and could throw a 9 1/3-pound ball more than a mile. However, they were not accurate enough to have an effective range of



The Ark of Maryland, painted by Peter Egli. (On exhibit at Historic St. Mary's City.)

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 1. Master's cabin | 16. Capstan |
| 2. Great cabin | 17. Knights (for halyards) |
| 3. Steerage | 18. Tiller |
| 4. Gun room | 19. Whipstaff |
| 5. Bread room | 20. Cargo hatches |
| 6. Gun deck | 21. Riding bitts (for anchor cable) |
| 7. Cook room | 22. Anchor cable |
| 8. Orlop deck | 23. Material for building barge |
| 9. Hold | 24. Six tons of wine |
| 10. Sail locker | 25. 106 tons of beer |
| 11. Bosun's locker | 26. Salt beef, pork, fish, and other provisions |
| 12. Powder room | 27. Boxes of tools |
| 13. Light room | 28. Ship's guns |
| 14. Shot locker | 29. Guns for fort |
| 15. Pumps | |



- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| 30. Cabins in steerage (probably for gentlemen) | 40. Bowsprit |
| 31. Temporary canvas cabins (for other V.I.P.s) | 41. Foremast |
| 32. Cabins for ships officers: First Mate, Second Mate, Clerk, Purser, Surgeon, Gunner, Bosun, Carpenter | 42. Mainmast |
| 33. Firewood (which also served as dunnage to help keep cargo in place) | 43. Mizzenmast |
| 34. Straw-filled canvas bag to sleep on | 44. Spare water butts |
| 35. Water butts | 45. Chicken coops |
| 36. Bales of frieze, canvas, cloth | 46. Gratings |
| 37. Ship's boat (shallop) | 47. Barrel of biscuits |
| 38. Head | |
| 39. Manger | |

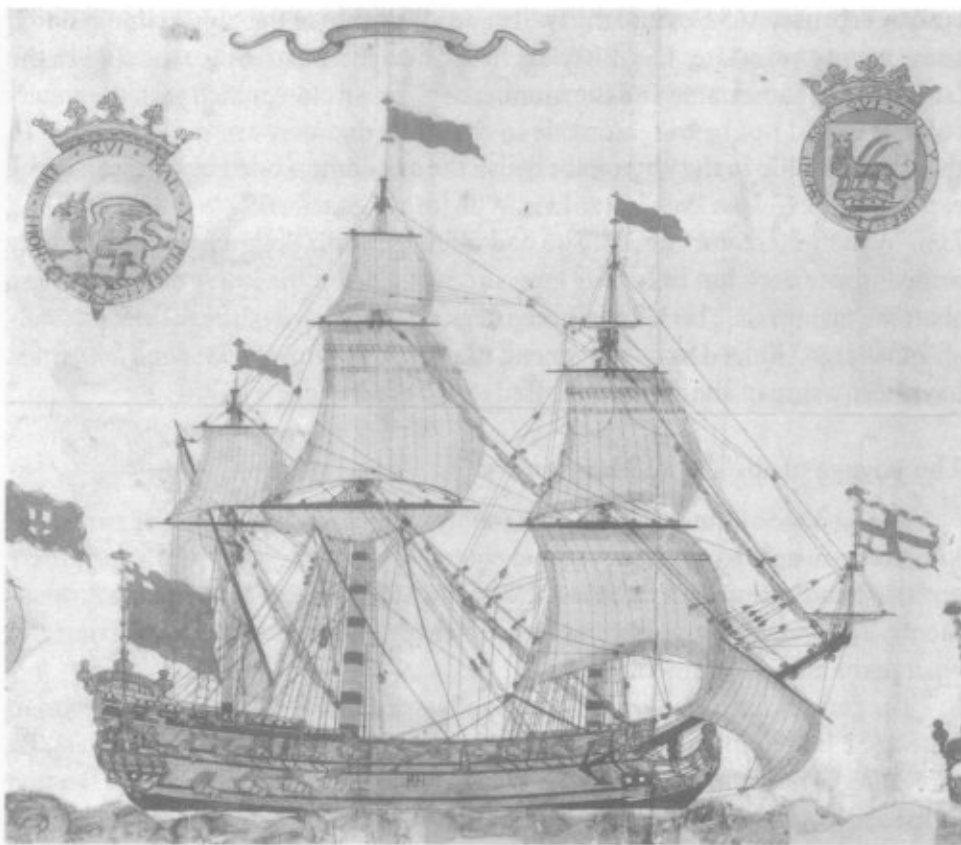


Watercolor of four ships in line. *The William and John* is second from left. (Courtesy the British Library.)

much over five hundred yards. Sakers weighed 2,500 pounds each and threw a 5 1/4-pound ball. There would also have been smaller caliber weapons such as the minions with four-pound balls and falcons with 2 1/2-pound balls. The painting on page 260 shows the *Ark* with nine gun ports on a side. She may have mounted fifteen guns in 1633 as inferred from a Trinity House certificate issued August 5, 1635. "There is now in the river of the Thames a shipp called the *Ark of London* of the burthen of three hundred tones or thereabouts: owners thereof are Captaine Crispe William Clobury . . . Vicars of London, Mechants and Richard Lowe of Ratcliff, mariner, . . . the said Richard being under god designed maister of the said ship. . . . The said owners having aboard the said shipp fifteen pieces of cast iron ordnance: do desire . . . ten peeces more of the said iron ordnance viz: eight saker[s] and two cutts."¹⁷

In recounting the *Ark*'s good luck in having missed an encounter in 1633 with five Spanish men-of-war, Father Andrew White, a Roman Catholic priest and passenger on the 1633–34 voyage to Maryland, remarked that "If we had come the whilst, tis like enough we had beene to forward with the rest, haveing so perfect a ship soe well gunn'd and man'd."¹⁸ She may have been "well gunn'd" but unless some of the passengers were trained and willing to help, she would not have been "soe . . . well man'd."

Preparing and firing a heavy, carriage-mounted shipboard cannon in the seventeenth century was not a simple matter. The gun crew had to be skilled and drilled as a team and steady under fire if they were to hit anything without endangering the ship, their crewmates, or themselves. Gun crews varied in efficiency. Some could get off a shot from the larger guns about every two minutes; others took five times as long. Typically, a thirty-gun warship assigned a gunner and three men per gun plus four in the powder room to work one side of the ship at a time. If the *Ark* assigned four men per gun, half her crew of forty could barely man five guns, leaving aside the need for people to haul powder and shot to the guns. One commentator concluded that she could not have handled more than eight guns in all. However, if some of the passengers could assist, it is reasonable to assume she could have managed nine broadside guns in a fight. In preparation for



Detail of the William and John. (British Library.)

the 1633–34 voyage, the *Ark*'s purser, John Bowlter, on September 28, 1633/os, gave a receipt for "fower demiculleverins" weighing three thousand pounds each and four "sacars" of 2,500 pounds each. These guns were purchased for Lord Baltimore from an English dealer in used ordinance. They were probably not part of the ship's active armament. Rather, they were carried as cargo destined for a fort to protect the first settlement.¹⁹

The *William and John*

A remarkable unsigned watercolor drawing, two feet high by seven long shows four ships in line ahead. Based on examination of the rigging and flags, R. C. Anderson concluded it was painted no later than 1670–75. The banners over the ships identify them as the "*Assistance Frigat*" followed in order by the "*Elezabeth Cap. Monke Commander*," the "*William and John William Slev Commander*,"²⁰ and the "*Sallberry William Sande Commander*."²¹

The *William and John* commanded by Nathaniel Chesson at the battle of Port-

land in February 1652/os had thirty-six guns. The ship of the same name painted some twenty years later has thirty-six broadside gun ports. Since the ship in the battle has the same name and the number of guns is a close match with the watercolor, it would not be unreasonable to conclude that they are the same ship. In that case, the ship in the watercolor is also the one commanded by Chesson in the capture of the *Golden Lyon* in 1651/os. William Baker, referring to the *William and John* in the watercolor noted: "She had a few guns on the quarter-deck, a fully armed upper deck but only four guns on each side on the lower deck and these abaft the mainmast. This left the 'tween deck space forward of the mainmast available for cargo." Judged by its armament, the thirty-six-gun *William and John* must have been a ship of about four hundred tons burden.²²

The Voyage of the *Ark* to Maryland

The passage of the *Ark* from England to America in 1633–34 is of particular interest because it is one of the rare seventeenth-century voyages for which there are first-hand accounts of life at sea and an unusually large number of other documents. These reveal important aspects of what a shipmaster did for a living and what perils and impediments he faced.

The charter for the colony of Maryland issued under the Seal of the Realm in June 1632 had granted Cecil Calvert proprietorship and vice-regal powers. By mid-1633 he had hired the *Ark*, with Richard Lowe as master to transport the first of his settlers to Maryland.²³ As a merchant shipmaster, Lowe would have been responsible for fitting out, docking, sailing, navigating, maneuvering, and piloting his ship; handling and preserving its cargo; repair and maintenance of the ship at sea; the caring for and feeding between 130 and 150 passengers and his crew; and the selection, discipline and training of the ship's complement. He would also have been charged with following government and owner's orders and with fighting the ship if attacked.

In addition to the master, the names of only two of the other forty or so crewmen for the voyage of 1633–34 are recorded: the purser, John Bowlter, and the ship's surgeon, Richard Edwards.²⁴ Others of the crew would have included master's mates and a steward, a boatswain, sailmaker, gunner, and a carpenter, each with one or more mates, as well as a cooper, trumpeters, at least four quartermasters, and a cook and his helpers. That would account for about half the number. The others would have been able or ordinary seamen, apprentices, and ship's boys. While making preparations for his voyage, Lord Baltimore also moved to prevent his sailors being pressed to serve in the Royal Navy. Had his men been thus taken, the enterprise might have been delayed or ended before it began for lack of qualified seamen. At Baltimore's request, the Privy Council issued a warrant on July 31, 1633/os forbidding their impressment. The warrant provides information about the size of the ship and crew. It reads:

"War^t [warrant] to free ye Arck of Marilan from having of her Men pressed 31 July

Whereas the good shippe called the Arck of Marilan of The burden of about 350 tonnes (whereof one Lowe Is master) is sett forth by the same good Lord the Lord Baltimore for his Lord's Plantatons at Marilan in America and manned by about 40 men²⁵: as forasmuch as his Lordship hath Desired that the men belonging to his said shippe — . . . may be free from presse or interruption: These are to will and — require those on Board to take the Oath [oath of allegiance to the Crown] forthwith, Officers, Seamen, maryners and others belonging to his Lordships said ship either in her voyage to Marilan or in her return for England, and that you will permitt and suffer the said complements quietly to passe customs without your least let hinderance, stay or interrupton whatsoever: Herein you may not fayle as you will answer to the contrarie for with this shall be your warrant from Whitehall.

the 31th of July 1633.

Lo Treas. [Lord Treasurer] EL [Earl of Lindsey] ED [Earl of Dorsett] Sec^{re} C [Secretary of State Coke] Sec^{re} W [Secretary Windebank]²⁶

To all adr^{ees} cap^{ts} of his
ma^{is} ships & pinnaces
press masters & other of his
ma^{is} officers & loving subjects
whatsoever whom it may concerne."²⁷

In October 1633, as the expedition was getting underway, a related political incident flared up out of the complex religious politics of the 1630s in England, Scotland, and France. After fitting out at Blackwall, the *Ark* and her pinnace,²⁸ the *Dove*, dropped down the Thames to anchor off Gravesend where they were to take on stores and passengers. Many of the passengers were Roman Catholics, and rumors of papist plots against the Crown were common at the time. Baltimore's political enemies tried to stop the voyage. One of them informed John Coke, the Secretary of State, that the *Ark*'s captain had slipped out of Gravesend without permission. Coke sent an urgent dispatch to his "worthy friend" Admiral John Pennington. "The *Ark of London*, Richard Lowe, master, carrying men for Lord Baltimore to his new plantation" had "sailed from Gravesend contrary to orders." Worse, they had "not . . . taken the oath of allegiance" to the Crown. Coke ordered Pennington to "make stay of her."²⁹

Upon receiving this message Admiral Pennington dispatched two "whelps," fast dispatch boats, to find the *Ark* and *Dove*, but they had already been inter-

cepted below Tilbury and were being taken back to Gravesend under guard. Only after those aboard the two ships had taken the oath, did the ships receive permission to leave England "Provided there be no other person or persons aboard the said shippe or pinnace but such as have or shall have taken the oath of allegiance as aforesaid."³⁰

On Saturday, November 22, 1633/os, the *Ark* finally departed from Cowes for Maryland, heading west along the south coast of England with fair weather and following winds.³¹ On Monday morning she passed the western capes of England, having kept her speed down to an average of a little more than seven knots so her pinnace, the *Dove*, could keep up.

Pirates presented the first danger the ships would face, and the *Ark*'s master had reason to be wary of them, for he had been captured five years earlier. Afterward, in Chancery Court, Lowe testified that "about the month of March [1628/ns] now last past in his returne from Virginia towards England [he] was taken by the Frenchmen at sea and lost all his bookes of accounts . . . and all things of value that he had with him at that time in the said ship," that ship being the *Anne of London*, of which he was then master. The "Frenchmen" were Dunkirk pirates or privateers. Of their first days at sea, Father Andrew White wrote:

[We] steered along not soe strong as wee might because of our pinnace slow sailinge, whome we feared to leave behind, for feare she might meet wth pirates though we see none . . . all alonge the Spanish Coast . . . we looked for Turkes but saw none, it seemes they returned home to celebrate their Tamisom [Ramadan]. . . . after we passed the Straits mouth [Gibraltar] and the Maderas . . . we made three ships bigger than ours. . . . we feared they might be turkes and made readie to fight, neither wanted some who imprudently wished the master to make towards them, but he answered he could not justify that to the owners of the ship, and indeed he might have found a hard bargaine of it. Happily they were Canarie merchants and feared us as much as we them.³²

Lowe's fear of pirates was well founded. Between 1609 and 1616, pirates from Algiers had captured 466 British ships and taken their crews as slaves. In 1631 Turkish pirates had seized and sacked the Irish town of Baltimore and carried away 237 men, women, and children into slavery. In 1634 and 1635, pirates took two thousand or more captives from English ships and the coasts of England and Ireland. The most dreaded of all were pirates who operated out of Sallee, a port on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. In the summer of 1636 they took men, women, and children from the coast of England twelve miles from Bristol. Finally, in an organized retaliation, an English squadron under William Rainsborough blockaded

and destroyed the Sallee fleet in 1637. The squadron rescued more than 350 Christians who had been enslaved at Sallee, some for as long as thirty years.³³ While contemporary accounts say the *Ark* was well armed, mounting cannon to repel an attack which could be expected if she encountered pirates in the Channel or Turks off Africa, she sailed virtually alone and might easily have fallen to pirate galleys operating in concert.

Pirates were not the only problem. Three days after her delayed departure from Cowes the *Ark* encountered two violent storms back to back.

Soe all Sunday and Monday the 24th and 25th of November we sailed with the winde, till night, when the wind changed to Northwest so violent, and tempestuous as the *Draggon* [a six-hundred-ton English ship] was forced back to ffamouth [Falmouth], not able to keep the sea. . . . Our master was a very sufficient seaman, and shipp as strong as could be made of oake and iron, 400 tonne kingbuilt; makinge fair weather in great storms. Now the Master had his choise, whether he would return England as the *Draggon* did, or saile so close up to the winde, as if he should not hold it he must necessarily fall upon the Irish shore, so infamous for rockes of greatest danger; of these two, out of a certaine hardinesse and desire to trie the goodnesse of his shipp, in which he had never been at sea afore, he resolved to keep the sea, with great danger, wanting sea room. . . . The wind grew lowder and lowder, making a boisterous sea, and about midnight we espied our pinnace with her two lights, as she had forwarned us, in the shroodes . . . she returned for England and entered into the Scilley Isle. This night thus frightfull being past, the wind came about to South west, full against us . . . so that with many tackes about we scarce crept on our way, so all the 26 27 and 28 days.

. . . On the 29th the windes were all day gathering and toward night poured forth such a sea of winde as if they would have blowen our shipp under water at every blast. All next day . . . the like cloude gathered in fear full manner, terrible to the beholders, so that ere it began to blow it seemed all the sprights and witches of maryland were now set in battaile array against us. This evening the master saw the sunne fish to swimme against the sunnes course, a thing evidently showing fearful stormes to come³⁴ . . . about 10 in the night . . . a furious winde followed . . . before we could take in our maine Course w^{ch} we only carried, a furious impression of winde suddainely came, and split it from top to toae and cast one part of it into the sea. This amazed even the stoutest heartes, even of the sailours who confessed they had seene ships cast away with lesse violence of weather. . . . and

then the helme being bound up, and the ship left without saile or government to the windes and the waves, floated at hull like a dish. . . . Thus we were in feare of imminent death . . . till at length it pleased God to send some ease, and by little and little still more, till at length we were with milder weather freed from all those horrors.”³⁵

Descriptions of storms at sea by landsmen may tend toward exaggeration. Even so, the second storm was unusually severe, because the *Ark* had only the main course set, and when that split the ship had to ride ahull until the weather abated.³⁶

Another danger, sickness, killed about a dozen people on the *Ark* during the voyage to Maryland. It arrived slowly, and struck under cover of celebration. “From our setting fourth till Christmas day our sickness onley sea-sickness,” wrote a passenger, then the company celebrated Christmas. “Indeed for the celebrity of the day wine being given over all the ship, it was soe immoderately taken as the next day 30 sickened of fevers, whereof about a dozen died afterward.”³⁷ This sounds more like food poisoning than the overindulgence in wine.

Although England had made a peace treaty with Spain in 1629 and France in 1630, by 1635 the French and Dutch were challenging the English in the Channel, and Spain considered all areas west of the “Grave Meridian” and south of the “tropike” as hers to control if she could. Foreign ships found there were to be seized or sunk. The Grave Meridian asserted by the Spanish would probably have been eighteen degrees west longitude, which passed through the westernmost of the Canary Islands. But longitude could not be determined with any accuracy at sea, and the line may have been thought to pass through the Azores. The “tropike” was the Tropic of Cancer, a parallel of latitude, which could be measured within a degree or two at sea.³⁸

In the event, the *Ark* had picked up the favorable trade winds and Canaries current about the thirtieth of November and crossed into the “Spanish Area” south of the “Tropike” by mid-December. At this point, in response to the wishes of those who had chartered the ship, she headed for a landfall at Boavista, six hundred miles south in the Cape Verde Islands. Then in what seems to have been one of an extraordinary string of lucky decisions, she abandoned that plan after a day or two and headed west-southwest for the Caribbean. It was later reported that Spanish warships were stationed at Boavista to intercept intruders.

A second stroke of luck befell the *Ark* on its arrival in the Caribbean. On January 3, 1634/os, after a fast passage of forty-three days from Cowes that covered 3,500 to 4,000 nautical miles at an average speed of between three and one-half to four knots, the *Ark* arrived at the fortified English port of Bridgetown, Barbados.³⁹ There an armed rebellion of servants against their masters had just been put down. It was said that the insurgents had intended to board and subdue the next ship to arrive as a means of escape. That ship would have been the *Ark*.

The *Ark* was delayed leaving Bridgetown until January 27, 1634/os when she sailed for Virginia making anchorages on the way at Martinique, Nevis, and St. Christopher. The delay probably saved her from a battle with a Spanish squadron at St. Christopher. As Father White puts it:

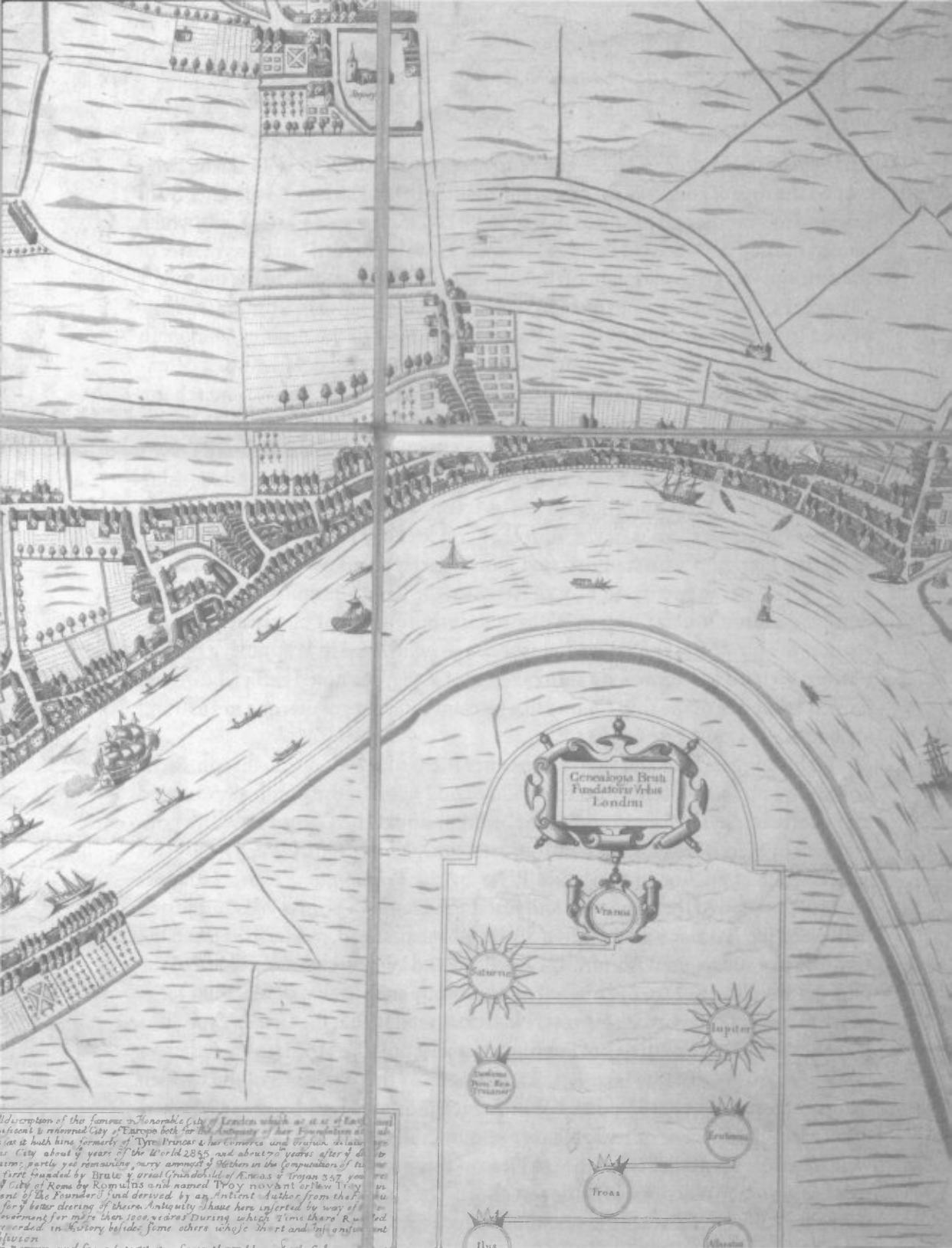
Herein Gods mercy was shewed towards us, and no less in staying us here [Barbados] till the Spanish ships, in number 5, were gone out of our way: for soe it happened, .. five great Spanish men of warre came to scoure the Charybbian Coaste, and make prize of whomsoever they saw saile, beyond the Grave Meridian or tropike: and had been those very days before St. Christopher, where findeing 2 small english barks and 2 or 3 great Hollanders guarded with a man of warre . . . [which] made to sea to enter fight. . . . Of the five English and Hollands, only 2 had ordinance; but the Spaniards each about 30 brasse pieces. . . . If we had come the whilst, tis like enough we had beene to forward with the rest, haveing so perfect a ship soe well gunn'd and man'd, and whether we had won or lost, our ship had certainly spoiled for saile til she had been repaired.⁴⁰

After her passage to America in 1633–34, the *Ark* departed Maryland for England in early May 1634 and probably was back in London by mid-July. The *Ark* was loaded in September 1634, sailed in the same month for Maryland with Richard Lowe as master, arrived there by early December 1634, and presumably returned to England under his command by mid-1635.⁴¹ On August 5, 1635/os, a Trinity House Certificate was issued for the “*Ark of London* 300 tons, . . . Richard Lowe Maister.”

The Shipmasters' Network

The returns for London of 1628 indicate 3,422 seamen served that port. About two-thirds of them were at sea on any given day. Their favorite abiding place was Ratcliff, near the London docks, two miles downstream from the Tower of London and a mile upriver from Blackwall, where the *Ark* was fitted out in 1633. At about the same time, twenty-eight ships of over three hundred tons listed one of the London towns as port of origin. Seven listed Ratcliff.⁴² The masters who lived in the London area, particularly those of the larger ships making ocean voyages, were relatively few in number and had much in common with one another. It is not surprising that they knew each other, exchanged information, and had business, legal, professional, and family relationships.

The *Ark*'s master, Richard Lowe, lived in Ratcliff and was a close associate of James Carter, who lived about a mile away in the village of Wapping. Carter was part owner and master of the *Truelove of London* of “some 50 tons, which made her



A Description of the famous & honorable City of London which as it is of Great
 Britain is renowned City of Europe both for the Antiquity of her Foundation as
 for its wealth & riches formerly of Tyne & Biscay a fair Commerce and British Relation
 is City about 9 years of the World 2855 and about 70 years after of the
 world partly yet remaining partly amongst of others in the computation of the
 first founded by Brutus of great Grandchild of Aeneas of Trojan 557 years
 of City of Rome by Romulus and named Troas moved to the City
 of the Founder's and derived by an Antient Author from that
 City better clearing of their Antiquity have here inserted by way of
 Government for more then 1000 years During which Time there's Re-
 corded in history beside some others whose short and Insignificant
 Division

Wapping

Shadwell

Ratcliff

first voyage to Virginia in 1622" and returned in April 1623. In 1624 Carter, who owned the *Ann of London* with fellow shipmaster Brian Harrison, sailed her from England to Virginia and returned in July 1625. Lowe witnessed Carter's will, which named himself and Richard Perry as kinsmen. Lowe succeeded Carter as master of the *Ann* and was given oversight of the shipping of Carter's goods "in the upland."⁴³ Chancery Court proceedings of 1628 state that Richard Lowe in Virginia was employed to collect the debts of James Carter, late master of the *Anne of London*. In this proceeding, in which the principal parties were all related, Lowe was a defendant against claims brought by Carter's kinsman, Richard Perry, a merchant, Carter's widow, Susannah, and her new husband, Brian Harrison of Wapping, mariner. In December 1625, at St. Stephen and St. Benet, London, Richard Lowe's sister Jane had married Thomas Carter.⁴⁴ In view of that and the close relationship between James Carter and Richard Lowe, it is not unreasonable to assume that Thomas Carter was James Carter's brother and Richard Lowe's brother-in-law.

Brian Harrison who had married James Carter's widow, Susannah, was by 1637 captain of the twenty-eight-gun *Hercules*, the Rear Admiral of the four-ship South Squadron under Captain William Rainsborough that blockaded and destroyed the pirate fleet of Sallee. Rainsborough, who lived in Wapping, a mile or so from Richard Lowe, owned a ship called the *Charity*. As noted earlier, Lowe was named as captain of the ship *Charity* in a warrant for letters of marque in 1630 and an Admiralty Court case of 1633.⁴⁵

Eighteen years later and twelve years after Richard Lowe's death, his son, Richard, shows up as a passenger on the *William and John*. In the politically charged and confused days before Virginia was brought under the Commonwealth government in March 1651/os, the two-hundred-ton, eighteen-gun *Golden Lyon*⁴⁶ was seized while at anchor in the James River by the *William and John*, Nathaniel Chesson, master. At the same time and place, the *Charles*, Thomas Wilson, master, had seized the *Peacock*, and the *Seven Sisters*, Abraham Read, master, had taken the *Charity*. In a subsequent Admiralty case, Read and Wilson claimed a share of the plunder from the *Golden Lyon* based on testimony such as that of Matthias Jackson, a member of the *Golden Lyon*'s crew. Jackson stated that the *Golden Lyon* "was taken on or about the 7th day of February last past old stile [1651/os] . . . when ye boate sent from Captaine Jesson . . . came neere . . . there were 15 of the Golden Lyons men aboard her & 15 peeces of ordnance mounted besides many Muskets pikes pistolls swords & other armes & ammunition and . . . that in ye said boate wch soe came aboard her from the said Jesson there were but 13 or 14 men at the most to whom this deponent & the rest aboard The Golden Lyon . . . would in noe wise have submitted in case the said three shipps the Charles ye 7 Sisters & Wm & John had not bin soe neere at hand." In a further complication, several Virginia planters who had loaded tobacco onto the *Golden Lyon* subsequently brought claims that were certified by Richard Bennett, governor of Virginia, and William

Claiborne, commissioner of Parliament for Virginia.⁴⁷ Richard Lowe “of the city of London,” age eighteen and son of the master of the *Ark*, was deposed between July 25, 1652, and December 2, 1653/os.⁴⁸ He had been a passenger on the *William and John* commanded by his brother-in-law, Nathaniel Chesson, when she seized the *Golden Lyon*.

On December 12, 1639/os, less than a year after Richard Lowe, the master of the *Ark*, had died, his widow, Jane Hunte Lowe, then thirty-four years old, had married a William Allen at St. Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury. In his will, her son-in-law, Nathaniel Chesson, named William Allen his executor. In 1654 William Allen, Thomas Allen, and others submitted a petition to Oliver Cromwell requesting protection for the following ships of which they were part owners: *William and John*, *Honor*, *Hopewell*, *Golden Lyon*, *Planter*, *William*, *Mayflower*, and *John and Katherine*.⁴⁹ In view of the family connections and the coincidence of ship names, it is not unreasonable to assume that the *William and John* of the petition of 1654 is the same ship Nathaniel Chesson commanded in 1652/os, that the *Golden Lyon* is the one he captured in 1651/os, and that William Allen, the ship owner, was Chesson’s stepfather-in-law and the one named as the executor of Chesson’s will.

Most shipmasters were married and had children. Richard Lowe was no exception. He described himself as a “sailor” of Stepney when, in 1624 he married Jane Hunte also of Stepney at St. Botolph’s Bishopgate.⁵⁰ Both were members of the Church of England. Of their six children, all but the first were born in early spring, which comports with the mid-year return of ships to London with tobacco harvested and cured in America the previous fall. Two died in early childhood, but in 1646 one daughter, Alice, at nineteen married twenty-two-year-old Nathaniel Chesson of Ratcliff, who, as has been noted, was by 1651 captain of the *William and John*. Another daughter, Elizabeth, at fifteen married a mariner from Shadwell, a village near Ratcliff. Lowe’s son Richard went to sea at sixteen or earlier and died in “Virginia” (the name then generally applied to North America) in 1655 at the age of twenty. Nathaniel Chesson and Alice Lowe had three children; their only son died at sea at age twenty-two or twenty-three.⁵¹

Ratcliff, where both Richard Lowe and Nathaniel Chesson lived, and the adjacent villages of Wapping, and Shadwell, were favored abodes for sailors of the London area. The map on pages 274–75, from a pictorial map made in 1658, shows the three villages, the Tower of London a few miles upstream, and the church of Saint Dunstan and All Saints, Stepney, where all of Richard Lowe’s six children were christened and where two were buried. Of Nathaniel Chesson’s three children, one was christened and one was buried there. The sailor’s villages were small, close together on or near the banks of the river Thames, and were surrounded by rural countryside.⁵²

St. Dunstan, Stepney, long known as “The Church of the High Seas,” incorpo-

rates parts of a very old stone structure erected about 952 to replace a wooden Saxon church. It is one of only two churches in the London area with Saxon remnants, in this case a tenth-century cross. It has survived fires, renovations, repairs, and a V-1 bomb that destroyed the tower in January 1945.⁵³

The Death of Richard Lowe

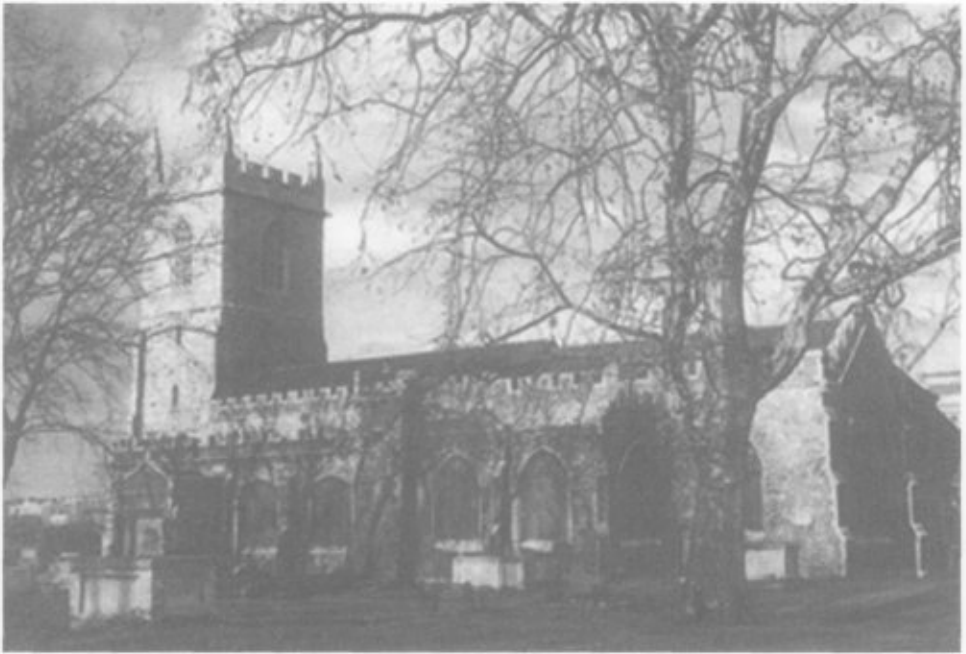
Richard Lowe died at sea sometime between February and April 1639/40 on a ship called the *Ark*. At that time of year, assuming the ship was the *Ark of London*, he would have been on his way back to London with a cargo from America. He was then about forty, and quite possibly he contracted an illness in America, as so many of his contemporaries did.⁵⁴ His will, written at sea, reads in part:

I desire . . . that my part of the Shipp Ark being somewhat above three sixteenths be sould and so returned into ready money and with the moneys due to me for the hyer of the sayd shipp this voyage with my wages and all other debts or ready moneys that may be owing or due to me . . . I give and bequeath . . . To the Ships company Five pounds to be bestowed on a Dinner . . . to my cosen Richard Lowe all his wages accruing of this voyage with my books and instruments and my silver Salt . . .

A master's instruments would have included several compasses, a straight edge and dividers for plotting courses and progress, sand glasses for measuring intervals between helmsman and watch changes, a cross-staff for measuring the altitude of stars, moon, and sun, a traverse board to record speed and compass direction every half-hour and a log to measure his ship's speed. Apprentice mariners were sometimes given instruments when they finished their training. In one case an apprentice received "a crosse and a staffe, seacard and a payer of compasses mete for the sea."⁵⁵

In his will Richard Lowe bequeathed "my house with all the goods and moveables in it standing in Ratcliffe to my wife, Jane Lowe," a hundred pounds apiece to each of his children, and the rest of his money to his wife after a few small debts were settled. His clothes he wished "sold at the mast and the most made of them."⁵⁶ He also directed that "those men that have adventured anything with me . . . maye be truly and honestly dealt with."

In the 1630s, English merchant sailors earned more pay and received better treatment than their counterparts of equivalent rank in the navy, and their ships were better kept. Some evidence of decent treatment is in Lowe's will, which provided for the crew and fellow adventurers. A merchant shipmaster in the 1630s acting as captain of a vessel of the size and potential armament of the *Ark* typically



The Church of St. Dunstan and All Saints, Stepney—"the Church of the High Seas." (Courtesy, the Reverend Christopher Chessun, Rector.)

would earn six to eight pounds per month plus "primage and average," small customary additional payments he received for the care of goods shipped.⁵⁷ The bequests of £100 each to his four children represented about four years' pay on such a ship. Lowe probably had other resources, certainly from part ownership of the *Ark*, probably from trading and perhaps from an inheritance or ships and cargoes taken as prizes. It was some of that money that his fellow seamen received from his bequest.

Unequivocal evidence for what ultimately happened to the *Ark of London* has not been found, but there is one clue. On March 28, 1649/os, during the English civil war, Colonel Popham of the Commonwealth Navy reported that five Royalist ships had "taken the *Culpepper*, the *Ark* and other ships, richly laden" as prizes.⁵⁸ On April 21 the Royalists paid seven pounds to a Mr. Ball for landing the *George*, *Culpepper*, and *Arke*. On May 12 the Royalists reported having paid seventy-eight pounds "to Capt Burley for the officers of ye *Thomas* their dues for the guns, cables and anchors and so forth of the *Arke*."⁵⁹ This wording suggests that this *Arke* was laid up and her gear used on other ships. Since Popham had described the *Ark* as richly laden, one might assume that she was a larger than average ship and might have been the 350-ton *Ark of London*, which by this time would have been at least sixteen and perhaps twenty-five years old. Ships named the *George* of between five and six hundred tons, and the *Culpepper* of about three hundred tons⁶⁰ appear in

later records, but no ship named the *Ark* that might qualify as the *Ark of London* has been located in records subsequent to 1649.⁶¹ The *Culpepper* apparently had reverted to the Commonwealth cause by 1650; Royalists discovered and fired on a ship of that name close under the guns of the Castle at Esteponia.⁶²

The Fate of the *William and John*

Although three ships named *William and John* appear in records of 1626 and 1628, two are too small and all are too early to be the one commanded by Nathaniel Chesson in 1650–52 considering that there is evidence for his ship being in service in the 1670s.⁶³ However, records of 1645–46 from the Civil War include a ship or ships named the *William and John* which might be the one Chesson later commanded in 1650–51. A list of ships taken as prizes by the Irish Squadron of the Parliamentary forces dated June 18, 1645, includes a *William and John*. Parliament's "Summer Guard" list of April 18, 1646/os, classes a ship of that name as a "Merchant ship ordered to be graved and fitted for sea for the better defense of the Kingdom upon any emergent occasion" and she is in the winter guard list of August 4, 1646/os as a packet boat.⁶⁴

A few years later, on October 27, 1650/os during the last months of the Civil War, the *William and John*, "a large English ship" struck her colors to the Royalist ship *Second Charles* in Tetuan Bay after a two-day running battle and was renamed *Charles Prize*.⁶⁵ The next day this ship was unable or perhaps unwilling to keep up the chase of a prize because, it was said, of damage to her spars incurred the day before, when she was taken. A week later, while under the command of Thomas Allen, the *William and John* (a.k.a. *Charles Prize*) failed to come to the aid of the Royalist ship *Black Prince*, which then had to be beached and burned. At the court-martial of Thomas Allen for this failure, his critics alleged that he, "more careful of his booty than his honour, clapped by a wind, and stood close-hauled for the harbour; which was probably the cause of the loss" of the *Black Prince*. One account infers that three days after Allen failed to aid the *Black Prince*, the *William and John* (a.k.a. *Charles Prize*) along with the *Charles*, the *Mary*, and the *Malagonian* were driven ashore and wrecked on November 6, 1650/os, trying to escape Parliamentary forces under Blake at Carthagenia.⁶⁶ This would seem to be the end of that *William and John*.

Nevertheless, an interesting sequel suggests that the ship may have survived to become that later commanded by Chesson in 1651. The day before his court-martial sentenced him to be hanged, Thomas Allen escaped from Toulon. Then, he seems to have been restored to favor as a Royalist. After the Civil War, in January 1653/os (1654/ns), a *William and John* was issued letters of marque⁶⁷ and commissioned as a private man-of-war.⁶⁸ On July 25, 1654/os she was granted permission to carry a cargo to Virginia.⁶⁹ The related documents name Thomas and William

Allen as part owners. It happens that William Allen is the name of Nathaniel Chesson's step-father-in-law. In those days of mixed loyalties and confusions of the Civil War, when ships' crews usually favored Parliament, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that the "large English ship" *William and John* was not wrecked in November 1650 at all but escaped, and that the report of her wreck was a subterfuge to cover her escape as happened in several other instances.⁷⁰ Given that and the coincidence of names, it may be that the "large English ship" *William and John* of 1650/os was the same one commanded by Chesson in 1651/os and owned by William and Thomas Allen in 1653 and 1654/os.

After Nathaniel Chesson died, he was erroneously reported as captain of the thirty-six-gun *William and John* at the Battle of the Gabbard on June 2–3, 1653/os. The ship was there but he was not, for he had been slain four months earlier on February 18–20 at the Battle of Portland. The ship, though, was one of "twelve lame and disabled" English vessels proceeding into the river Thames for repairs on June 7, four days after the Battle of the Gabbard.⁷¹

In 1660 a *William and John* of the right tonnage showed up in straitened circumstances, commanded by William Goodladd. Bad weather had driven her into the port of Limerick where she remained, afraid to risk her cargo of sugar, indigo, and cotton to two "men of warr one in the river and the other in the rivers mouth wayting for the said ship." Her owners petitioned the admiralty for help, "the said men of Warr having sent word to the master thereof that they will have the sugar to sweeten their wine."⁷² The name and four-hundred-ton burden of this ship match that of the one commanded by Nathaniel Chesson at the battle of Portland eight years earlier.

An incident in 1673 may provide a clue to what eventually happened to the *William and John* of which Chesson was captain. On February 20, 1673/os, during the second Dutch war, a ship named the *William and John* was taken by two Dutch capers of fourteen guns each fifty leagues west of the Lizard and then was retaken by an English ship, *Antelope*, on the twenty-third within sight of the Lizard. The *William and John* and the *Antelope* entered Falmouth on the twenty-sixth. Englishmen on board the *William and John* said that "Slewe," her master, had sold her to the Spanish.⁷³ The banner above the *William and John* (page 265) reads "William Slev commander" but the "v" seems to disappear in a fold of the banner. This is close enough to being "Slewe" to indicate that the ship captured by the *Antelope* may have been the same one commanded by Chesson in 1651–52.

Richard Lowe, Nathaniel Chesson, and their ships, the *Ark of London* and the *William and John*, were caught up in the violent currents of mid-seventeenth-century history. The Spanish empire was in decline. Political confusions and religious divisions in England led to civil war. European maritime powers, particularly the English and Dutch, struggled and went to war for control of trade, trade routes, and colonies. Shipmasters, despite their skill, rough individuality, and

potential for fortune, were to a large degree pawns in a game of politics and mercantilism, which grew from the ambitions of their rulers and national cultures. Yet they and their crews provided the navigation and ship handling skills which, along with shipbuilding, were the foundations of Empire. After the English emerged victorious from the last of the three Dutch wars in 1674, English merchant ships had increasingly unimpeded use of the world's oceans and a huge expansion of the merchant fleet began until it surpassed in numbers all other seafaring nations put together.⁷⁴

NOTES

1. John Webb, "Apprenticeship in the Maritime Occupations at Ipswich, 1596–1651," *The Mariner's Mirror*, 46 (1960): 32, 33. Most of the information from the Public Record Office in England about families and much about specific ships is based on documents found on behalf of the author by Mrs. Muriel Hawkins, independent researcher of Surbiton, Surrey, England. Both Mrs. Hawkins and Mrs. Lola Shelton Bradley of Leesburg, Virginia, assisted with translating into legible form the sometimes difficult script of original documents.
2. London Port Books for August 30 and September 2 and 4, 1634/os, call the ship "le Arke of London"; Port Book-E. 190/38, Book 7, Public Record Office, Kew, Richmond, UK [hereinafter PRO]. A document signed by Secretary of State John Coke on October 19, 1633/os (which reported a complaint made to the Lords of the Star Chamber) corrects her name from "*Charles of London*" to "*The Arck of London*." See British Colonial Office, 1/6 19550, 215. In a Privy Council warrant signed by Coke on July 31, 1633/os, she is called "*Arck of Marilan*." See State Papers 16/228, July 31, 1633/os, PRO. Trinity House certificates of August 5, 1635/os list a 300-ton "*Arke of London*" (State Papers 16/17, no. 104, Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1635–36. Charles I, 140). So it seems one can take his choice of names. For the sake of consistency, the name *Ark of London* or simply *Ark* is used herein for this ship.
3. A date followed by "os" means it is in the "old style," i.e., it is in accordance with the Julian calendar that was used in England until officially discontinued in 1752. In that year the Gregorian calendar was adopted and September 3 was changed to September 14 by adding eleven days and January 1 instead of March 25 was set as the civil and legal New Year's Day. However, when converting dates before 1700 to the Gregorian from the Julian calendar, only ten days are added. If followed by an "ns" a date is in accordance with the "new style," i.e., the modern Gregorian calendar. If a date is not marked, it is in the new style.
4. Exchequer Class E/157, Licenses to Pass Beyond the Seas. Ships, Merchants and Passengers to the American Colonies, 1618–1668, PRO. On July 8, 1627/os, the ship *Ann of London*, bound from London for Virginia, Richard Lowe, master, carried a cargo of wines for William Bonham, clothing for Richard Perry, cloth for William Popham, John Perry, Elizabeth Sowtherton and Richard Lowe, and boots and currants for Sidrach Williams. July 12, 1627/os, warrant for letters of marque, "Anne of London. Owner, Sidrach Williams. 130 tons. Captain Richard Love." This *Anne* is the same ship that cleared London on July 8, 1627/os with Richard Lowe as master. Sedrich Williams is mentioned in both cases, and the name of the captain, "Richard Love," is a misspelling of "Richard Lowe." SP 16/115 RH 65 and Calendar of State Papers, Charles I, 1628–29, 299, PRO.
5. May 4, 1630/os, Warrant for letters of marque for the *Charity of London*, 160 tons, Owners

George Sheppard and others, Captain Richard Lowe, State Papers, Domestic, Car. I, State Papers 16/130, p. 23 LH, PRO; Peter Wilson Coldham, *English Adventurers and Emigrants, 1609–1660* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1991), 10:39. Robert South and Maurice Thompson v Kinge. Examinations made in 1633 concerning the disposition of tobaccos brought to London in the *Charity*, Mr. Richard Lowe.

6. Saint Dunstan, Stepney Parish Register, microfilm X24/68, 1568–1653, March 16, 1646/os, Family Records Center, London [hereinafter FRC]. Coldham, *English Adventurers*, 66:137, December 2, 1653/os. Thomas Pott of Stepney, Master of the John and Thomas, testifies that the *Golden Lyon* is a ship of 200 tons with 18 guns. See also British High Court of Admiralty, 13/66, PRO.

7. Samuel Rawson Gardiner and C. T. Atkinson, eds., *Letters and Papers Relating to the First Dutch War, 1652–1654*, 5 vols. (Printed for the Naval Records Society, London, 1899–1930), 4:13–17, 22, 78, 79, 82, 96 [hereinafter, *The First Dutch War*]; R. C. Anderson, “English Fleet Lists in the First Dutch War,” *Mariner’s Mirror*, 24 (1938): 440, 441. Anderson concludes, “I can find no authority for including the *William and John* among the ships at the battle of Portland.” He then adds, “I must, however, admit that I have equally found no proof of [its] having been elsewhere.” He must not have been aware of the reports that her commander, Nathaniel Chesson, was slain at the Battle of Portland. See *The First Dutch War*, 4:96, 229, and Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 34:213, 214, March 4, 1652/os, PRO, which is evidence that the ship was present. See also State Papers 18/34, 77, PRO. This hand-written script is apparently copied from the original one, a printed version of the latter is in Calendar of State Papers, Domestic 1652–53, 34:213, 214. By 1653 Anderson had concluded the ship was present. See *Mariner’s Mirror*, 39 (1953): 171, 174, 177.

8. R. C. Anderson lists the *William and John*, “Captain Nathaniel Jesson, 36 guns,” as a merchantman present at the Battle of the Gabbard on June 2–3. 1653/os (June 12–13/ns). See *Mariner’s Mirror*, 24 (1938): 448. But Chesson could not have been there since he was slain on February 18–20, 1652/os at the battle of Portland and his will was probated on June 15, 1653/os. However, the *William and John* was present at the Battle of the Gabbard. In a report of June 7, 1653/os, she was listed as one of “twelve lame and disabled” English ships proceeding into the river Thames for repairs. (*The First Dutch War*, 5:98n1.)

9. Will of Nathaniel Chesson signed January 17, 1652/os, probated June 15, 1653/os, PROB 11/231, folio 36, p. 332, PRO.

10. M. A. Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and Merchant Shipping in Relation too the Navy from MDIX to MDCLX with an Introduction Treating of the Preceding Period* (North Haven, Conn.: The Shoe String Press, Inc., 1961), 217 et seq. and 274 et seq.

11. *Mariner’s Mirror*, 31 (1945): 180, 304 et. seq.; W. R. Chaplin, “William Rainsborough (1587–1642) and His Associates of the Trinity House”; Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675–1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 189–91; Peter K. Kemp, *The History of Ships* (London: Orbis Books, 1978), 110

12. Artist Peter Egeli made them in 1970 and 1972 for the Historic Saint Mary’s City Commission, St. Mary’s, Maryland, where they are on display in the Visitors’ Center. They are based on careful research and the advice, among others, of William Avery Baker, an expert on the design of seventeenth-century ships. Baker designed the full-scale replicas of the *Mayflower* now at Plymouth, Massachusetts, and the *Dove* berthed at St. Mary’s City, Maryland.

13. Several sources have accepted the *Ark* as a 300-ton ship. See William Avery Baker, “Vessel Types of Colonial Massachusetts,” in *Seafaring in Colonial Massachusetts* (Boston, Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1980), 3; M. V. Brewington, *Chesapeake Bay: A Pictorial and Mari-*

time History (New York: Bonanza Books, 1953), 7; Harry Wright Newman, *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1984), 26; and Clayton Coleman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 70. Trinity House certificates of August 5, 1635/os list a similarly large "Arke of London." See Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1635–1636, Charles I, 140. Father White's account of 1634 calls her "400 tunne Kingbuilt" (Hall, *Narratives*, 30), which, if it means gross tonnage, would be the same as three hundred tons burden. The Privy Council's warrant of July 31, 1633/os states that she was "of a burden of about 350 tonnes" (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 243:160 and State Papers 16/228, July 31, 1633/os, PRO.)

14. R. C. Anderson, *Seventeenth Century Rigging* (London: Percival Marshall & Co., Ltd., 1955); W. Salisbury and R. C. Anderson, eds., *A Treatise on Shipbuilding and a Treatise on Rigging Written About 1620–25* (Society for Nautical Research No. 6, London, 1958); Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and Merchant Shipping*, 266–68; William Avery Baker, *The Mayflower and Other Colonial Vessels* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1983), 31–34; and Warwick Charlton, *The Second Mayflower Adventure* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1957), 223–45. The latter is a condensation of Baker's articles on the design of the *Mayflower II* that appeared in *The American Neptune*.

15. Bryden Bordley Hyde, "New Light on the Ark and the Dove," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 48 (1953): 185–89 and Baker, *The Mayflower and Other Colonial Vessels*, 87. Baker cautions that study since 1975 tends to discount the accuracy of the representations (Baker, "Vessel Types of Colonial Massachusetts," 11n2).

16. M. V. Brewington, "What the Designs Show," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 48 (1953): 189c. Using the Hook House reliefs and a great deal of research over a period of three years, R. Hammond Gibson made a 3/16-inch to the foot model of the *Ark*, which was completed by 1956. See Maryland Historical Society Report of the Committee on the Maritime Collection, (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, 52 (1957): 271–72). It is described as the "Arke of Maryland that brought the first settlers to Maryland in 1634." Gibson says the *Ark* was: "Recorded as an old ship in 1633, she could have hardly been built later than 1625, probably a little earlier." ("The *Ark* and the *Dove* Models," W. A. Baker Design Files, 57-1, Hart Nautical Collection, MIT Museum, Cambridge, Mass [hereinafter HNC Baker Files]. This is a typescript traceable to R. Hammond Gibson.) The model is in the marine collection of the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore.

17. Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and Merchant Shipping*, 155–57, 261–62. Baker, *The Mayflower and Other Colonial Vessels*, 41e. Donald McNarry, *Ship Models in Miniature* (New York: Prager Publishers, 1975), 175–76; State Papers 16/17, No. 104, a Trinity House certificate, PRO. William Clobury was a principal in the firm of Clobury and Co. that financed but later fell out with and sued William Claiborne, long-standing antagonist of the Lords Baltimore. See Newman, *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate*, 119, 122–24, 128–31, 150.

18. Hall, *Narratives*, 37, 38

19. Frank L. Fox, *A Distant Storm: The Four Days Battle of 1666* (Rotherfield: Press of Sail Publications, 1996), chap. 4, 67–71; Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and Merchant Shipping*, 202–3, 214e, 251n1; HNC, Baker Files, 57-1, "The *Ark* and the *Dove* Models," 7b; "The *Ark* and the *Dove*," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 1 (1906): 354; Newman, *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate*, 14, 16n; Donald G. Shomette, "The Guns of St. Mary's," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 93 (1998): 477–96, reported that four demi-culverins said to have been of Spanish origin were recovered at or near the site of Fort Inigoes built in 1637 to cover the approaches to St. Mary's City. One is now located on the grounds of

the State House in Annapolis, and another outside the reconstructed old State House at St. Mary's City.

20. R. C. Anderson, "Seventeenth Century Rigging," *Mariner's Mirror*, 6 (1920): 282; Baker, "Vessel Types of Colonial Massachusetts," 15, 16 and figure 9. Baker names the commander of the *William and John* as "William Stevens." The banner above the ship in the original painting appears to read "William Slev Commander." Baker must have extrapolated to interpret the name as Stevens or he had another source for it unknown to this author. However, later records indicate that in 1673 a William Slewe was master of a ship called the *William and John*. (State Papers Domestic, Charles II, 1672–1673, 614, February 26, 1673/os, PRO.) Slewe is assumed to be the right name for the master of the ship shown in the original painting.

21. M. V. Brewington, *Chesapeake Bay*, 29. The ships in the figure at the top of page 29 are unnamed, but close comparison reveals that both are likely from the watercolor at the British Library, MS 5023 (1) and that they are the *William and John* and the *Elezabeth*. The defect at the stern of the *Elezabeth* is seen clearly in the original watercolor and on page 29. The watercolor was located from information found in the Francis Russell Hart Nautical Collection of the MIT Museum which contains the papers of William Avery Baker. Kurt Hasselbalch, curator of the collection, provided the access and assistance that made it possible to find the British Library identification numbers and thus the watercolor.

22. Baker, "Vessel Types of Colonial Massachusetts," 15, 16, and figure 9; NRS, *The First Dutch War*, 4:22. J. R. Powell and E. K. Timings, eds., *Documents Relating to the Civil War 1642–1648* (Printed for the Naval Records Society, London, 1963), 139 [hereinafter, *The Civil War*]. In the Summer Guard of 1644, the merchant ships of 300 to 400 net tons had a ratio of 11 or 12 net tons per gun.

23. Newman, *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate*, 13d; Lois Green Carr, *Expedition to Maryland* (Annapolis, Md.: Maryland State Archives, Hall of Records Commission, 1990), xxx–xxxi.

24. "The Surgeon of the Ark of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 29 (1934): 173

25. Steele, *The English Atlantic*, 322n47. Estimates of crew sizes indicate that an "optimistic" tons burden per sailor ratio was about 9.5 in which case the 350-ton Ark would have had a crew of at least thirty-seven, a number which is consistent with that in the warrant.

26. The signatories were five of the eight Commissioners of the Admiralty that, in effect, was a committee of the Privy Council to carry out the instructions of the King and Council. Under a commission of November 20, 1632/os, the commissioners were Richard, Lord Weston, Lord Treasurer; Robert, Earl of Lindsay, Great Chamberlain; Edward, Earl of Dorset, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; Dudley, Vicount Dorchester, Vice Chamberlain of the Household; Lord Cottington; Sir John Coke, Secretary of State; Sir Francis Windebank, Secretary; and Sir Henry Vane, (the Elder). Any three of them together had the power to act on matters under their jurisdiction. (Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and Merchant Shipping*, 279n2.). The two secretaries of the Privy Council, Coke and Windebank, were, in practice, the principal administrative officers of England. George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, had been a Secretary of the Privy Council before them.

27. State Papers 16/228, July 31, 1633/os, PRO, is the original script. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 243:160, PRO, is a printed version.

28. Baker, *The Mayflower and Other Colonial Vessels*, 77. A pinnacle, as the term is used for the *Dove*, is a small vessel designed to sail with and serve a larger one.

29. British Colonial Office 1/6 19530, and Colonial State Papers 1574–1660; October 19, 1633/os, Secretary Coke to Adml. Pennington; para. 171, p. 84, PRO.

30. Privy Council/2/43, 291, October 30, 1633/os, PRO.

31. Newman, *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate*, 15–17; Hall, *Narratives*, 70–71.
32. C2/CHAS 1/P68/60 PFN/773, Chancery Bills and Answers, Perry v. Lowe, The Answers of Richard Lowe on July 7, 1628/os, PRO. See also George Fredrick Tudor Sherwood, *American Colonists in English Records* (London: George F. T. Sherwood, 1932), 1st Series, July 7, 1628; Exchequer Class E/157, Licenses to Pass Beyond the Seas, Ships, Merchants and Passengers to the American Colonies, 1618–1668, July 8, 1627/os, the ship *Ann of London*, bound from London for Virginia, Richard Lowe, master, PRO; Hall, *Narratives*, 29–37; Newman, *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate*, 30g, attributes the decision not to seek battle to Captain Robert Wintour, who was in charge of the passengers. However, from the wording of this translation it seems clear that the ship's master made that decision.
33. Chaplin, "William Rainsborough," 181–88; Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and Merchant Shipping*, 198–99, 274–78.
34. Douglas Phillips-Birt, *A History of Seamanship* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1971), 161, cites what may be a related sailor's rhyme:

When the wind shifts against the sun
Trust it not for it will run.
When the wind follows the sun,
Fine weather will ne'er be done.

35. Baker Files 57-1, HN C, includes these quotations from Hall, *Narratives*, 29–31, but also quotes another translation of the same passage from MHS Fund Publication 7:13-14 that has the same substance but quite different words. That a northwest wind would drive the ships onto the coast of Ireland is somewhat of a mystery since they should have been south of that coast. A different translation of the same text reads: "But then the wind having sprung up toward the North, there arose a great storm." If this infers that the wind blew from the south it would be consistent with the statement that the Ark was in danger of being wrecked on the Irish coast. See George W. Burnap, *Life of Leonard Calvert, First Governor of Maryland*, in Jared Sparks, ed., *The Library of American Biography*, Second Series, Vol. 19 (Boston: James Brown, 1851), 46.
36. Commenting on John Wesley's account of a transatlantic voyage in 1736, Steele wrote, "It remains hard to imagine the able seaman who was up in the sheets in all weather, being as terrified as [the] embarrassed landlubber. The religious representation of the ocean was hostile, was printed, and was widely accepted." Steele, *The English Atlantic*, 12d.
37. Hall, *Narratives*, 32b.
38. Steele, *The English Atlantic*, 189–91.
39. *Ibid.*, 283, gives the average passage time for twenty merchant ships from English Channel ports to Barbados in 1698–1700 as 62.5 days, custom to custom, at an average speed of 2.5 knots for an imputed distance sailed of about 3,775 nautical miles. Since anchorage to anchorage times would have been a little less than custom to custom times, speeds would have been slightly faster and distances somewhat but not much shorter. Hall, *Narratives*, 34c.
40. Hall, *Narratives*, 37c.
41. State Papers 16/17, No. 104, PRO; Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1635–1636, Charles I, 140, PRO; Newman, *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate*, 46–47. If Richard Lowe, son of Richard Lowe, master of the *Ark*, was born shortly before he was christened on March 4, 1635/os, and after a normal term of pregnancy, then he must have been conceived before about mid-July 1634, which implies that the *Ark*, with his father returned to London from its first voyage to Maryland by that date.

42. Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and Merchant Shipping*, 244, 270; State Papers, Domestic, clv, 31 and cclxxxii, 135, PRO.
43. Noel Curren-Briggs, *The Carters of Virginia: Their English Ancestry* (Chichester, Sussex, UK: Phillimore & Co., Ltd., 1979), 7, 58, 105; Chaplin, "William Rainsborough," 193 n2; Will of Jacobi (James) Carter, proved April 11, 1627/os, PROB 11/151, PRO. Lowe witnessed the will on May 26, 1626/os.
44. Sherwood, *American Colonists*, First Series, 10, 11; Chancery Bills and Answers, C2/CHAS1 P68/60, PRO. Perry v. Lowe July 7, 1628, the answers of Richard Lowe; December 1, 1625/os, marriage of Jane Lowe and Thomas Carter, St. Stephen & St. Benet, Sherehog, *International Genealogical Index*-1992. In his will Richard Lowe named his sister Jane and her "two twins."
45. Chaplin, "William Rainsborough," 178.
46. Coldham, *English Adventurers and Emigrants*, 66:137, Thomas Pott of Stepney, age 28 and master of the *John and Thomas*, testified that the *Golden Lyon* was a ship of 200 tons and carried 18 guns.
47. *Ibid.*, 66:133 et seq. This is a printed abstract of the original script of the case as recorded in British High Court of Admiralty, 13/66, PRO, "Nathaniel Jesson v Abraham Read; Thomas Wilson and Abraham Read v Nathaniel Jesson," July 25, 1652/os–December 2, 1653/os, that includes testimony of Matthias Jackson.
48. *Ibid.*, 137. The testimony of Richard Lowe, age eighteen. If the age eighteen applies to the date of deposition, which it probably does, it would match well enough the age of Richard Lowe (b. March 24, 1635/os), the young brother-in-law of Nathaniel Chesson and the only living son of Richard Lowe, master of the *Ark of London*.
49. Percival M. A. Boyd, *Boyd's Citizens of London Index*, 1639; Will of Nathaniel Jesson signed January 17, 1652/os, PROB 11/231, 331–32, PRO. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series 1574–1660, W. Noel Sainsburk, ed., July 25, 1654/ns, 417, para. 23; "Petition of Alderman Wm Underwood, Alex Bence, John Greensmith, Wm and Thos Allen, John Harris, and Thos. Robard part owners of the (ships) *William and John*, *Honor*, *Hopewell*, *Golden Lyon*, *Planter*, *William*, *Mayflower* and *John and Katherine* to The Lord Protector [Cromwell] . . . there being an absolute necessity in Virginia for a supply of shoes and powder and shot for defense of the Colony, which goods are under prohibition of transportation without license, pray for a warrant to ship 120 dozen of shoes, six barrels of powder, and one ton of shot in each ship on payment of customs. ENDORSED, ord. 27 July, 1654." PRO.
50. Guild Hall Library, London, Marriage Licenses, May 3, 1624/os, Richard Lowe, sailor of Stepney, Middlesex and Jane Hunt(e) of same . . . at Saint Botolph Bishopgate, London. See also J. L. Chester, *London Marriage Licenses, 1611–1828*, 138.
51. FRC; Parish Register of St. Dunstan and All Saints, Stepney, microfilm X24/69, June 1, 1646/os 24/71; PROB 11/343 Folio 161 RH 344, LH 345, PRO.
52. Richard Newcourt, *Newcourt's Pictorial Map of London*, 1658, British Library Maps, 3480 (149). Reproduced by permission of the British Library.
53. Mervyn Blatch, *A Guide to London Churches* (London: Constable and Company, Ltd., 1978), 396 et seq.
54. Will of Richard Lowe probated at London, May 2, 1639/os, PROB 11/173, FOLIO 327, Right Hand, PRO; Edward C. Papenfuse, Alan F. Day, David W. Jordan, and Gregory A. Stiverson, *Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 1:15, records that a Richard Lowe attended (or was represented by proxy at) the Proprietary Assembly held at St. Mary's City, Province of Maryland, at intervals between January 25, 1638/os and March 24, 1638/os. If the Richard Lowe at the

assembly is the same as the master of the *Ark*, then he would have died in the three-month period between January 25, 1638/os and May 2, 1639/os when his will was probated in London. Richard Lowe was probably older than his wife. She was born in 1605. He probably was in his mid-twenties when he was married in 1624 (perhaps for the second time) and his late twenties when he became master of the *Ann* of London in 1627. By May 2, 1639/os when his will was probated he probably was in his late thirties or early forties.

55. M. V. Brewington, *The Peabody Collection of Navigating Instruments* (Gloucester, Mass.: Ten Pound Island, 1963); Phillips-Birt, *History of Seamanship*, 128, 134, 138–45; Webb, “Apprenticeship in the Maritime Occupation at Ipswich,” 32.

56. It was the custom to sell personal possessions of a sailor who died at sea by auctioning them at the main mast so they could be of use to his shipmates.

57. Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and Merchant Shipping*, 243; McNarry, *Ship Models in Miniature*, 53; Hall, *Narratives*, 100. Navy ships were rated primarily as a basis for specifying the pay of the captain and other officers. The *Mermaid* of 382 net tons and 22 guns built in 1651 was a fifth rate man-of-war, and her captain in 1653 was paid £8 8s per month (See Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and Merchant Shipping*, 330–31, 341, 360.) The *Ark* with 18 broadside guns ports and 350 tons burden was equivalent to what in 1653, would have been a fifth rate man-of-war. In 1633–34 Richard Orchard, master of the *Dove*, the *Ark*’s pinnace which had no carriage mounted guns and was about a seventh of the burden of the *Ark*, was paid £4 a month (see Newman, *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate*, p. 15e). Thus, the *Ark*’s master in 1633–34 was probably paid about £6 to £8 per month.

58. Reports and Calendar Series, 51, Leyborne-Popham (Manuscripts) MSS 1582-1739, 11. Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, London. See also R. C. Anderson, “Royalists at Sea in 1649,” *Mariner’s Mirror*, 14 (1928): 326, 327n2, and Calendar of State Papers, Domestic 1649–1650, 305, PRO.

59. “An Accompt of the dispersments of all moneys received by the treasurer of His Majesty’s Navy upon ye sale of Prize Shippes and goods brought in H. M. Fleet under his Highness Prince Rupert, 1648–1649,” Anderson Papers, 14, 17, 18, 19, 22 (1), 22 (2), and 27, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England.

60. Anderson, “English Fleet Lists in the First Dutch War,” 436, 438, 448, lists a merchant ship called the *Culpepper* as having 30 guns at the battle of Kentish Knock of the First Dutch war in September 1652/os and of being present at the battles of Dungeness in November 1652/os and of the Gabbard in May 1652/os. At an average of ten tons burden per gun, which was typical of a merchant warship at that time, she would have been of about 300 tons burden. *The First Dutch War*, 5:19 lists a ship called the *George* of 58 guns at the battle of the Gabbard on June 2, 1653/os. At ten tons burden per gun, the *George* would have been of something like 500 to 600 tons burden.

61. At least five other ships named *Ark* are known not to be the *Ark of London*. The *Ark of Avalon*, a merchantman of 160 tons built before 1627, was owned in 1627 by George Calvert, First Baron Baltimore (Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574–1660, April 7, 1627/os, PRO). On January 22, 1629/os the *Arke of Wexford*, a ship of 300 tons under the command of Sir John Crosby a part owner, was issued a warrant for a letter of marque (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 130:151, PRO). The *Ark of Noah* from Amsterdam was under the command of Peter Eversham on May 2, 1629/os (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1629–1631, 142:536, PRO). The *Ark*, a ship of 50 tons, Henry Cultanes, master, was issued a warrant for a letter of marque on November 5, 1629/os (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 130:156). A “Brazilman” called the *Ark*, was a prize of the *Eagle* on December 16, 1630/os (*ibid.*, 177, 412).

The *Ark*, a merchantman of 150 tons with 60 men and 14 guns, was commanded by John Lockier for the Commonwealth Navy in the Summer Guard of 1644 and 1645.

62. *Mariner's Mirror*, 17 (1931): 161, n4. See also Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1649, p. 432 and 1650, p. 242, PRO.

63. Calendar of State Papers Charles I, 1628–29, March 21, 1626/os, 287, PRO. A Warrant for a letter of marque was issued on March 1, 1626/os for the *William and John* of London of 100 tons; John Powell owner and captain. Calendar of State Papers Charles I, 1628–29, 307, July 1, 1628/os, PRO. On July 1, 1628/os, the *William and John* of 200 tons and her 40-ton pinnace, Tobias Fulgate, captain and owner, were issued letters of marque. Calendar of State Papers Charles I, 1628–29, 168, para. 75, June 8, 1628/os, PRO. *William and John* of London bound for Virginia on May 29, 1628/os, John Harvey, Captain. Names mariners aboard who are to have protection against impressment.

64. NRS, *The Civil War*, 220, no. 230, "List of ships taken by the Parliament," 1645. The list is dated June 18, 1645/os (E. 335, 6 [extract]); *ibid.*, 247, #249: "Summer Guard" list, April 18, 1646/os; *ibid.*, 252, #256: "Winter Guard" list, August 4, 1646/os.

65. *Mariner's Mirror*, 17 (1931): 161

66. *Ibid.*, 17 (1931): 164–65 and 21 (1935): 63–64.

67. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series 1574–1660, January 21, 1653/os, 397, PRO. "Upon the petition of Wm. Underwood, Sheriff of London, Alexander Bence, John Greensmith, Thos. and Wm. Allen, John Owen, John Harris, John Jeffries, Thos. Potter and other proprietors of the *William and John*, *John and Katherine*, *Planter*, *Honor*, *Hopefull Adventure*, *Golden Lyon*, *Charles*, *Anthony*, *Margaret*; granting letters of marque to them and the *Seven Sisters*, and the *James*, about to sail for Virginia, and license to carry not more than 1000 pairs of shoes, upon giving security." [Interregnum, Entry Bk. 62:287].

68. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series 1574–1660, January 24, 1653/os, 397, PRO. "Warrant for commissions for private men-of war to the ships above mentioned (*William and John*, *John and Katherine*, *Planter*, *Honor*, *Hopefull Adventure*, *Golden Lyon*, *Charles*, *Anthony*, *Margaret* and the *Seven Sisters*, and the *James*) carrying 225 guns, their united burden 3,300 tons." [Interregnum, Entry Bk. Vol. LXII, p. 287].

69. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series Vol. I, 1574–1660, 417, para. 23, PRO.

70. Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and Merchant Shipping*, 330n3, 4.

71. *Mariner's Mirror*, 24 (1938): 448; NRS, *The First Dutch War*, 5:98n1.

72. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic 1660–1670, 650, PRO. The original is State Papers 29/445, p. 72, PRO.

73. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles II, 16702–1673, 614, February 26, 1673/os, PRO.

74. Kemp, *The History of Ships*, 110.



John Pendleton Kennedy (1795–1870). Contrary to popular conceptions, Maryland's elder statesman did not retire from political life in 1859 but worked furiously during the sectional crisis and the Civil War years, writing pamphlets and letters and delivering speeches on behalf of the Union cause. (Maryland Historical Society.)

The Transformation of John Pendleton Kennedy: Maryland, the Republican Party, and the Civil War

JONATHAN WELLS

In April 1859, after a lifetime of political activism, Baltimore's John Pendleton Kennedy expressed in his private journal weariness and frustration over the increasingly hostile sectional debate. Rejecting what had become for him a disheartening political spectacle dominated by demagogues on both sides, and holding little hope for the preservation of the Union, Kennedy promised to turn away from politics and back to his first love: "I wish to give the last of my days to the tranquil pursuit of literature," he wrote in his journal.¹ Kennedy, the author of popular novels such as *Swallow Barn* (1832) and *Horse-Shoe Robinson* (1835), had neglected his literary career to pursue politics at both the state and national levels, including three terms representing Baltimore as a Whig congressman. By 1859 Kennedy thought he was ready to leave behind the sectional wrangling over slavery and states' rights, vowing to embrace once again the more "tranquil" world of fiction.

Historians and literary scholars seem to have taken Kennedy at his word. Although Kennedy lived on actively until 1870, few of the many analyses of his life venture beyond 1859. Charles Bohner's otherwise fine 1961 biography devotes a few scant pages to Kennedy's last ten years, a decade that encompasses Kennedy's thoughts on Maryland's tumultuous Civil War experience.² More recent scholars, while adding importantly to our understanding of Kennedy's efforts to keep Maryland in the Union during the secession crisis of 1860–61, do not consider the large body of writing Kennedy left behind covering the 1860s.³

In that final decade of his life, Kennedy underwent an intellectual and political transformation that is crucial to understanding both the man and his state in those difficult years. His novels and political writings in the antebellum period had presented slavery as integral to the South's culture and rural economy. Despite his view that slavery retarded the industrialization and urbanization of the South, Kennedy never seriously advocated its demise. During the Civil War, however, Kennedy rejected life-long views on the benign nature of slavery and became

Jonathan Wells's forthcoming book, The Origins of the Southern Middle Class: Literature, Politics, and Economy, 1820–1860, will be published by the University of North Carolina Press.

an ardent abolitionist. In part this shift in Kennedy's thinking about slavery stemmed from his opinion that demagogic pro-slavery southern politicians were to blame for the secession crisis and the war. Beginning in the 1850s and throughout the 1860s, Kennedy repeatedly berated slaveowners for allowing their passions and imagined grievances to divide the Union.

Kennedy was never afraid to criticize his native region, a quality that often put him at odds with southern leaders, but his shifting views on slavery during the war and his public denunciation of the states' rights argument and the Confederacy further alienated him from fellow southerners. Because scholars have neglected Kennedy's Civil War writings, they have not appreciated the extent of his final estrangement from the South. Indeed, Kennedy should figure prominently as one of the slave South's strongest critics and perhaps the most vocal Unionist below the Mason-Dixon line.

In the last years of the war, Kennedy also shifted political allegiances. An enthusiastic Whig in the 1830s and 1840s and a founder of the Constitutional Union party in Maryland in 1860, Kennedy was slow to support Abraham Lincoln and the Republicans. Critical of Lincoln's prosecution of the war, and more critical still of the Republicans' role in causing the conflict, Kennedy only gradually embraced the president and his party, but by the end of the war he counted himself an enthusiastic Republican. Lincoln's abrupt and tragic death deeply saddened him.

Kennedy's intellectual and political transformation during the Civil War and Reconstruction provides a fascinating window through which one can view Maryland's place in the struggle for the Union. As Barbara Jeanne Fields, Jean H. Baker, and many other scholars have pointed out, Maryland in the 1860s shuddered with political upheavals as Democrats and Republicans vied for control. The 1864 Constitution, pushed through the Maryland legislature by Radical Republicans, freed the few slaves who remained in the state. Democrats regained control of the legislature in 1867, drafted a new constitution, and out-manuevered the Republicans. As the site of the Battle of Antietam, Maryland witnessed some of the worst fighting of the war. All of these political and military events Kennedy lived to witness, and on many of them he commented publicly and privately. Far from spending his last years in "tranquil" literary solitude, Kennedy instead spent his last years striving feverishly to keep Maryland from seceding, attacking the Confederacy as a Union propagandist, and finally playing the role of postwar Republican elder statesman.

From an early age Kennedy was conscious of his ties to the South. His mother's Virginia family, which included Revolutionary War leader Edmund Pendleton, had been for generations citizens of high status and considerable wealth. As his biographer suggests, "Kennedy was proud of his Virginia heritage" and, as he grew older, became acutely aware of the vital role Virginians had played during the

struggle for independence.⁴ J. V. Ridgely, who has examined Kennedy's literary career, agrees with that characterization: "Like [William Gilmore] Simms, who also had an Irish emigrant father and a mother with family roots in Virginia, Kennedy was more conscious of his Southern background than he was of his European blood." This cavalier legacy would later provide Kennedy with rich material for *Swallow Barn*, *Horse-Shoe Robinson*, and many other writings set in the revolutionary period, but the young aspiring author's first works were propagandist entreaties for the American cause in the War of 1812. As he studied for the bar while serving in the Maryland militia, Kennedy realized that he possessed a talent for writing that could be of immense value in climbing Baltimore's social ladder.⁵

Upon reaching the bar after the war's end, Kennedy embarked on a political career that would span the next half-century. He won a seat in the Maryland House of Delegates in 1820, motivated by aristocratic notions of honor rather than by strong political convictions. Like many ambitious politicians in the early Republic, Kennedy's commitment to public service stemmed from a sense of duty rooted in republican philosophy. As described by Joyce Appleby and others, republicanism was central to the legacy of public service left behind by the founding generation. Along with wealth and high social status came a responsibility to work in government.

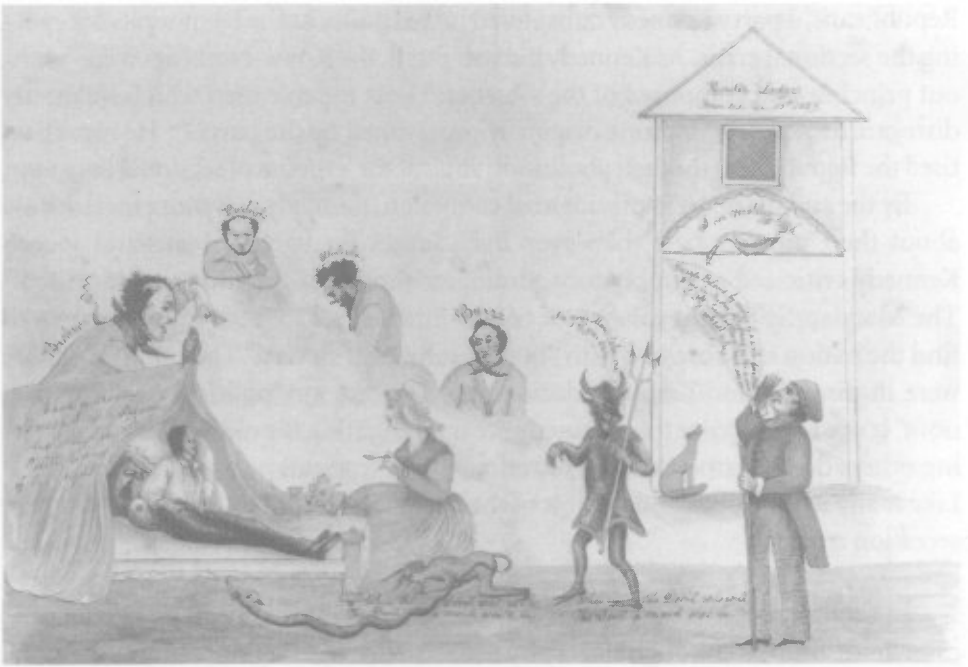
In his first years in the Maryland legislature, Kennedy obligingly took his seat without sponsoring any significant legislation, but his unease over the election of President Andrew Jackson in 1828 helped to shape the young politician's views. As Jackson and the Democrats assumed positions inimical to internal improvements such as banks and railroads, projects which Kennedy favored, politics became for the Marylander less a social responsibility and more a substantive endeavor. Unlike the Jacksonians, Kennedy came to believe that industrial growth and rising cities were positive developments and vital to the future of the South in particular. Such views led him quite naturally into the opposition Whig party, where he supported strongly Henry Clay and the American System. Kennedy remained a prominent supporter of government aid to railroads and businesses throughout his life. By the eve of Jackson's reelection in 1832, he had become so partisan that he characterized Old Hickory's imminent second term as a "calamity" that put the nation on "the verge of absolutism." He particularly objected to Jackson's stance against the Bank of the United States, and when the furious president ordered the removal of federal deposits from it, Kennedy proclaimed that "Jackson ought to be impeached."⁶ Such heated rhetoric against the president and his party contributed to Kennedy's popularity among Maryland Whigs.

Spurred by his growing stature and aided by the voters' reaction against the Democrats as a result of the financial panic of 1837, Kennedy won a term representing Baltimore in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1838. He remained there after a key Whig propagandist, writing numerous essays in support of presidential

candidate William Henry Harrison in 1840, including *Quodlibet*, a stinging satire on the Jacksonians and their economic policies.⁷ Upon winning two more terms in Congress from 1841 to 1845, Kennedy declared on the floor of the House that corporations were "the instrument of great and permanent good to the country" and called for a new national bank with a centralized currency system. Kennedy's enthusiasm for transportation and factories supported by an active government ran afoul of many fellow southerners who feared that a strong central government might threaten slavery. Kennedy, though, remained steadfast in his conviction that even as the South maintained slavery, it could also embrace industrial and urban progress.⁸ He rejected completely the abolitionist belief that a dynamic, industrializing economy and slavery were mutually exclusive. The South, Kennedy repeatedly argued, could develop manufacturing enterprises, railroads, and banks without surrendering slavery.

Slaveholders' continued opposition to industrialization frustrated Kennedy greatly. During the 1850s, the South's obstinate refusal to adopt his vision of economic progress gradually widened his estrangement from his native region until he began to offer an increasingly bitter critique of southern "backwardness." This backwardness, he believed, was rooted in slaveowners' dominance of southern politics, and he launched a public attack on those southerners who fanned the flames of disunion with talk of secession. In a lengthy essay in the *National Intelligencer*, he argued that the South was the victim of demagogues who cared nothing for the Union and everything for personal gain. Published less than a week before Daniel Webster's famous speech in support of the Compromise of 1850, Kennedy flattered himself by musing that the Massachusetts Senator had absorbed some of his ideas. Commenting on those southerners who fought the compromise, Kennedy noted with loathing in his journal that "the country will remember those who figure in these schemes of Disunion."⁹ Kennedy often referred to "schemes" and "plots" he believed were the true causes of sectionalism. Again squarely within the republican philosophical legacy inherited from the founding fathers, Kennedy often viewed differences of political opinion as the culmination of conspiracies. Like many fellow Whigs, he even characterized the political parties themselves as cabals with little concern for harmony or virtue.

In his criticisms of his native region, Kennedy was careful to distinguish between demagogic slaveowners and the institution of slavery. He adopted an even-handed tone in his essay in the *National Intelligencer*, castigating abolitionists as well as secessionists. He strongly denounced those "crack-brained enthusiasts" in the abolitionist camp who incited southern opinion and led the nation closer to war. Although angry at the influence of proslavery southern politicians, Kennedy did not see himself as an abolitionist. He opposed the antislavery Wilmot Proviso that would have prohibited slavery from new territories won during the Mexican War and rejected calls for emancipation. "Manifestly," he proclaimed, "emancipa-



In 1852, when the Whig party collapsed, Kennedy found himself without a political home. He refused to join the anti-immigrant Know-Nothing party, satirized in this 1859 cartoon. (Maryland Historical Society.)

tion would be a greater evil than the continuance of slavery.”¹⁰ Kennedy’s main concern was the preservation of the Union, and any abolitionist or secessionist who threatened that Union deserved to be condemned with equal venom. “We have come to a most unhappy stage in our progress,” he lamented in his journal, “at which all men find reason to fear the future.”¹¹

The demise of the Whigs as a party in the early 1850s left Kennedy without a political home. Maryland Whigs, like others across the nation, suffered badly in the presidential election year of 1852. On the day before the election, Kennedy lamented that “I find everything in Baltimore looking badly for [Whig candidate] Gen. Scott tomorrow — the Whigs won’t turn out for him with any zeal. Many refuse to vote for him.” The next day, Kennedy’s prediction came true, and he bemoaned “the cars full of drunken men shouting for [Democratic candidate Franklin] Pierce” in the streets of Baltimore.¹² As Jean Baker and Barbara Fields have pointed out, many Maryland Whigs joined the Know-Nothing party that had arisen in opposition to the Democrats.¹³ The anti-immigrant Know-Nothings were particularly strong in Maryland, in large part because of the visible presence of German and Irish immigrants in Baltimore. For his part, Kennedy refused to follow fellow former Whigs into the new party, especially when the leader of Maryland’s Know-Nothing party, Henry Winter Davis, so often sided with the

Republicans, a party Kennedy considered just as guilty as the Democrats for causing the sectional crisis. As Kennedy himself put it, the Know-Nothings were "without principle and composed of the worst and least capable men who have utterly disregarded . . . every doctrine originally proclaimed by the party."¹⁴ He also chastised the Republicans for their abolitionist bias at the expense of sectional harmony.

By the end of the 1856 presidential campaign, Kennedy was more melancholy about the Union's future than ever. Even James Buchanan's inaugural speech Kennedy criticized as "ambiguous, timid, incoherent . . . muddy and confused." The Marylander sought solace in a trip to Europe in 1857–58, only to return to find the nation still obsessed with "the old subject of slavery." The political parties were in disarray, and Kennedy decided not "to take any political positions just now." It was at this point that Kennedy, weary of fighting the old battles and watching others do the same, decided to retire "to the tranquil pursuit of literature."¹⁵ Like many in the South and the rest of the nation, he would be reawakened by the secession crisis.

In 1860 Kennedy greatly feared that Maryland would succumb to Democratic cries for disunion. Although slavery by then had declined significantly in the state, slaveowners from southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore were disproportionately represented in the General Assembly, and Democrats maintained significant support in Baltimore. Having adamantly refused to join the opposition Republican or Know-Nothing parties, he was intrigued by the formation of the Constitutional Union party in 1860. Early in that year Kentucky Senator John J. Crittenden asked the Marylander to head the party's central committee.¹⁶ Although he turned down the offer to serve as the party's presidential nominee in the 1860 election, Kennedy played a key role in the formation of Maryland's Constitutional Union party by helping the party's central committee formulate a platform and encouraging former Know-Nothings to join the fledgling party. As Baker reports, in part because of Kennedy's efforts, the Constitutional Union party in Maryland received 44 percent of the presidential vote, compared to only 12 percent nationally.¹⁷

Kennedy also publicly denounced secession in two pamphlets designed to quell sectional hostility and to keep Maryland from leaving the Union. In *The Border States: Their Power and Duty in the Present Disordered Condition of the Country*, which he completed in December 1860, Kennedy illuminated "the shallow hypocrisy" of the secessionists.¹⁸ "Every substantial hope of a successful issue out of the afflictions of the country," Kennedy wrote, "depends upon the calm and earnest wisdom of the Border States." He followed this pamphlet with another entreaty to keep Maryland out of the looming war entitled *The Great Drama; An Appeal to Maryland*, which initially appeared in the *National Intelligencer* in May 1861. In that essay, Kennedy abandoned all hope of reconciliation with the seceding states and instead focused his efforts on dissuading Marylanders from joining the Con-

Henry Winter Davis stood at the head of Maryland's Know-Nothings until joining the Republican party. Kennedy believed all political parties bore responsibility for escalating sectional tensions. From Bernard C. Steiner, *Life of Henry Winter Davis* (Baltimore: John Murphy Company, 1916).



federacy. As in his past writings, Kennedy blamed the sectional dilemma on "wily, unscrupulous partisan leaders" who used "the machinery of passion" to spread alarm. Clearly concerned that many members of Maryland's General Assembly were Confederate sympathizers, Kennedy implored the state's political leaders to remember their heritage. "Disunion," he wrote, "is rebellion, desertion of our duty, dishonor to our flag; voluntary disgrace cast upon the names of the heroes and sages who have made our country illustrious in human annals."¹⁹

Whether or not the pamphlets were decisive in keeping Maryland out of the Confederacy is an unanswerable question, but historian Robert J. Brugger claims that they "doubtless had an impact on the popular will." Union commander John A. Dix believed that Baltimore was riddled with Confederate sympathizers, and in September 1861 Lincoln sent troops to arrest advocates of secession in the Maryland legislature. Despite some sympathy for secession, Maryland did remain in the Union, perhaps in part because of Kennedy's efforts. One indication of his influence in keeping the state out of the Confederacy is that he lost many friends, who favored secession. According to Kennedy's biographer, "acquaintances of many years' standing rebuffed him by bellowing 'No, sir! No, sir!' when he passed them on the street. When he entered a room, old friends hastened to leave by a side door."²⁰

The loss of old friendships was merely the beginning of a personal crisis for Kennedy. Although Maryland remained in the Union, he was despondent and frustrated by the outbreak of war. "These are sad realities," he wrote in his private journal on September 10, 1861, "which no man could have thought possible in this once happy land." A few days later, he remarked that it was "very sad to see the

influence of this political excitement, particularly amongst the women.”²¹ Even Kennedy’s own family was divided about which side of the war to support. In a March 1862 letter to his nephew, Edmund P. Kennedy, who had joined the rebel cause, he wrote: “I cannot tell you how much I grieve to find you in the ranks of those who have meditated the destruction of our country. You are the only one of our immediate connections who has fallen into this terrible error. I beg you, my dear Edmund, to repair this mistake without delay. This wretched rebellion is crumbling into ruin and the madmen who originated it are already seeking safety in flight.” He signed the letter “In kindness & sorrow.”²²

Kennedy’s unhappiness over disunion was compounded by his distrust of Lincoln and the Republicans. He blamed them nearly as much as the secessionists for causing the crisis, and he was highly critical of the president’s prosecution of the war. Kennedy opposed Lincoln’s attempt to send non-military supplies to Fort Sumter in 1861 and found fault with Secretary of State William H. Seward for failing to secure peace. Kennedy followed the daily events of the war very closely and delighted in Union victories. He noted on September 18, 1862, for example, “a splendid victory on the Antietam, near Sharpsburg. Lee was routed and compelled to give up a strong position.”²³ But such victories were overshadowed in Kennedy’s mind by Lincoln’s bungling.

The *Marylander* regarded the Emancipation Proclamation as a transparent ploy that would only incite southerners further by playing to their worst fears of abolition. The proclamation, Kennedy argued, bolstered the secessionists’ claim that Lincoln had been merely awaiting the earliest opportunity to abolish slavery altogether. Associating the proclamation with the radical wing of the Republican party, he lamented in January 1863, as it took effect, that it would “be only a new element of discord without practical advantage to anyone but our enemy.”²⁴ A month later Kennedy complained to his uncle Philip C. Pendleton of “the manifest incapacity of the administration to conduct the war with an effective statesmanship.” The spectacular Confederate success at Chancellorsville in the first week of May further alarmed him, and he preferred that politicians, including Lincoln, leave the war to the military men. On July 1, 1863, as the fighting first erupted at Gettysburg, Kennedy remarked in his journal that “There is much distrust in the capacity of the administration, which seems to be much too meddlesome in the directions of the field operations of the army.”²⁵

Mr. Ambrose’s Letters

By the autumn of 1864 Kennedy’s views on both Lincoln and slavery had shifted dramatically. The Union victory at Gettysburg a year earlier had bolstered his confidence in Lincoln’s ability to win the war. So inspired by this success was the aging author and politician that he became convinced of an imminent Union



Kennedy's Great Drama, An Appeal to Maryland, 1861, forecast the horror and destruction of war that came to Sharpsburg in September 1862. The pamphlet's graphic descriptions of warfare contradicted popular and romantic notions of brave heroes and bloodless battles. (Maryland Historical Society.)

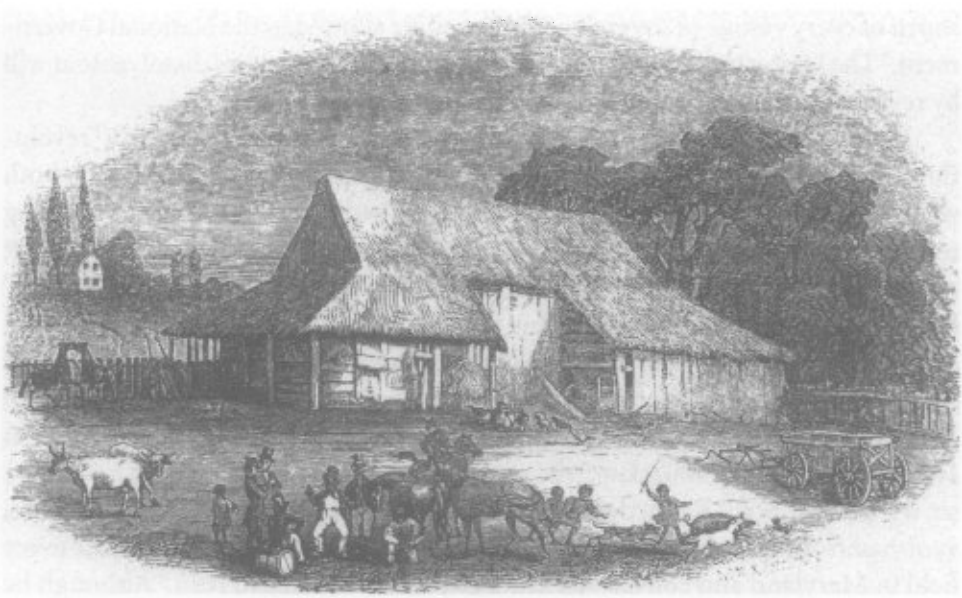
triumph. Any secessionist who still believed the Confederacy would emerge victorious, Kennedy claimed, "must be a fool." In 1864 he cast his vote for Lincoln, even though doing so meant turning down a meeting with Oliver Wendell Holmes and the Saturday Club in New York so that he could be in Baltimore for the election.²⁶ The success of Republicans in his home state also seems to have bolstered his faith in the party. In Maryland, Radical Republicans, aided by the disfranchisement of rebels, had gained the upper hand in the General Assembly and pushed through reforms, including emancipation.

As Kennedy's views on Lincoln changed, so too did his opinion of slavery and

emancipation. He began to believe that the security of the Union demanded an end to slavery; as long as the burr of slavery remained in the side of the nation, peace would remain elusive. It is important to note that Kennedy, like many, came to embrace abolition but did not believe in racial equality. Even as his perception of the evils of slavery intensified, he never accepted the idea that the races were intellectually equal. Nevertheless, Kennedy's transformation from harsh critic of abolition to advocate of emancipation was a dramatic one. In part, he was inspired by actions taken in his native state to free the slaves. The new Maryland constitution, drafted in 1864 by the Radical Republicans, contained a Declaration of Rights that outlawed slavery, and Kennedy, always a keen student of history, began to see the historic implications of emancipation. Additionally, he attended a lecture by Frederick Douglass in November 1864 that seems to have influenced him greatly. The speech Kennedy termed "very much above the average . . . of accomplished lectures," but he obviously absorbed the message of abolition.²⁷ Thereafter, Kennedy rejected his antebellum stance against abolitionism and embraced emancipation.

Kennedy's intellectual and political metamorphosis can be observed in a series of ten essays promoting the Union cause he penned between 1863 and 1865 for the *National Intelligencer* and which were collected after the war under the title *Mr. Ambrose's Letters on the Rebellion*.²⁸ The letters were ostensibly written by one Paul Ambrose to William W. Seaton, the editor of the *Intelligencer*. Their purpose, Kennedy later explained in the introduction to the bound volume, was to present a reasoned case against secession as well as to underscore his views on the war's true cause. "Mr. Ambrose," Kennedy wrote, "has endeavored to explore the secret motives which impelled a class of politicians in the South, not without some effective cooperation from auxiliaries both in the North and West, to contrive the overthrow of the Union." *Mr. Ambrose's Letters* reiterates this argument time and again, reflecting Kennedy's frustration that the war itself was unnecessary. "Slavery," he argued, "of itself and for itself, is not the cause of the rebellion. . . . It is the merest sham and make-believe for any Southern man to pretend that the institution of slavery was ever brought into peril."²⁹

The first letter, written in January 1863, reflects Kennedy's sadness that the war "still rages with unabated fury. Indeed, as it grows older, it seems to become instinct with fiercer hatreds and to gather new vigor of resistance from its desperation." He hoped that his letters would reach the South and touch the minds and hearts of those who harbored doubts about the legitimacy of secession, particularly those "old and cherished friends" who may "have preserved their integrity and their reason unclouded by the passions which have hurried the multitudes around them into the dreadful vortex of the rebellion." With this goal in mind, Kennedy tried to convince the South of the folly of secession. He pointed out that in the past the South had rightly denounced as treason the secessionist Hartford Conven-



*As the war progressed, and after listening to a lecture by Frederick Douglass in 1864, Kennedy completely rejected idyllic notions of slavery he had described in *Swallow Barn* (1832, above) and abandoned his anti-abolition stance, though he never accepted the concept of racial equality. (From the 1872 reprint edition by G. P. Putnam and Sons.)*

tion, and a great many in the South had criticized South Carolina during the Nullification Crisis. "How does it happen," Kennedy asked rhetorically, "that, all at once, the year 1861 should find . . . the almost universal judgement of the country absolutely reversed, throughout a whole section of the South?" For Kennedy, the answer lay clearly in the selfishness of sectional demagogues who "brought fierce ambitions into play, conspiracies, the clash of arms." Florida offered evidence that paranoia and hysteria were the causes of the war. In 1845 the state worked diligently for admission into the Union only to secede a decade and a half later. Since Kennedy believed that slavery in Florida was not any more endangered in 1860 than it was in 1845, he thought that the real cause of secession was not any specific issue but a demagogic grab for wealth and power.³⁰

Kennedy frequently harkened back to history to provide guidance for the present, appealing to the South's sense of heritage to denounce the secessionist cause. Are we to believe, Kennedy asked his southern readers, "that, in some moment of drowsy forgetfulness, those notoriously vigilant and astute gentlemen whom we are accustomed to laud as the sages of our golden age—Washington, Hamilton, Franklin, and the rest—had withdrawn from their watch and left" the Union open to dissolution by secession? The act of forming the Union was a combination of state and popular power in which the individual states "were clean

shorn of every vestige of sovereignty in the circle allotted to the National Government." The Union clearly was not a loose confederation of states dissolvable at will by revolutionaries.

Kennedy repeatedly referred to the formation of the Confederacy as a "revolution" and the secessionists as "rebels." He titled the fifth and sixth letters, both written in October 1863, "Revolution" and remarked that "their scheme is nothing more nor less than an attempt to subvert the Government by a revolution. It suited their purpose to claim it as the exercise of a peaceful right of secession." Kennedy's insistence upon employing words like rebellion and revolution to describe secession reflects the depth of his alienation from the South. He recalled in *Mr. Ambrose's Letters* a conversation with a fellow Marylander who refuted Kennedy's use of the term "riot" to describe pro-secession rallies in Baltimore in 1861. "You are much mistaken," the man asserted, "when you call this a riot. No, sir, it is a *revolution*!" Kennedy lamented that "All thought of crime had, of course, vanished from his mind. His heart was full of war. He was ready to desolate every field in Maryland and convert her chief city into a blackened ruin." Although he still claimed many southern friends and hoped to reestablish ties with others who shunned him during the war, Kennedy could not forgive those who allowed imagined grievances and petty pride to sever the Union.³¹

Like many of those who sympathized with the Union effort, Kennedy had begun the war with few moral qualms about slavery. In his novel, *Swallow Barn*, for example, slavery was depicted as a benign institution that civilized Africans. As the war progressed, Kennedy, like many unionists, became more sensitive to the evils of slavery and more intent on seeing its demise. The entire nation, Kennedy wrote in *Mr. Ambrose's Letters*, "has remarked how strangely each stroke of war smote the mind of the people with a new conception of the issue to which they were giving their strength." This statement reflects well the evolution of Kennedy's own views. In a final letter entitled "Peace" written in July 1865 for *Mr. Ambrose's Letters*, he delighted in the extinction of American slavery and expressed hope that the freedmen would improve their economic condition. Kennedy believed that "the emancipated slave shall rise, in proper and due progress of elevation, from his debasement, up to the enjoyment of every faculty and every right he may prove himself able to exercise." Kennedy's careful choice of words here suggest that he continued to doubt the equality of the races even as he delighted in emancipation. He had faith that the South would act in self-interest to make the freedman a useful and contented citizen. The overtures toward reconciliation and the cooperation exhibited by some of the former leaders of the Confederacy were also reasons for optimism.³²

Kennedy's disaffection with the South and his new opinion of slavery, reflected in *Mr. Ambrose's Letters*, were reinforced near the end of the war by his increasing admiration for Lincoln. Kennedy regarded the president's second inaugural ad-

dress as a bold and courageous statement of democratic principles: "I have read it three times over with great admiration. I think it the best address for such an occasion. . . . it speaks the language of an earnest, thoughtful and wise Christian man." He finally acknowledged the president's success in prosecuting the war and leading the Union to the verge of victory. "Mr. Lincoln," he remarked in his journal just one month before the president's death, "is establishing his character as one of the ablest and best Presidents we have ever had." But on the evening of April 15, 1865, came shocking news: "The whole city," Kennedy wrote in his journal that night, "is stricken down with the astounding news of this morning—the assassination of President Lincoln." Days later Kennedy, still reeling from the news, knew that Lincoln's most enduring legacy was the end of slavery, and that the assassination brought this accomplishment into relief. Lincoln, he believed, should be credited with "the wiping away [of] the great sin."³³

Admiration for Lincoln also strengthened Kennedy's association with the Republican party. After the war ended, Kennedy traveled to Cuba in 1866 to restore ailing health, and the following year embarked on his third and final trip across Europe. Travel accounts of this tour, published posthumously in *At Home and Abroad* (1872), show that he spent most of his time in the great cities, especially London and Paris. Secretary of State Seward then named Kennedy a commissioner to the Paris Expedition of 1867. At home in Maryland, political developments were taking shape that would further strengthen his identification with the Republican party and increase his disgust with Democrats.

Upon his return from Europe Kennedy found his home state engaged in yet another political upheaval. This time the Democrats had wrested control of the General Assembly from the Republicans and were threatening to reverse the reforms established in the 1864 constitution. Democrats from southern Maryland managed to strike a provision in the 1864 document that considered only the white population for purposes of representation. The new constitution pushed through by emboldened Democrats in 1867 reversed this law, granting greater representation in the assembly to the southern part of the state in which most African Americans lived.³⁴ To Kennedy it appeared as though the same demagogues who had pushed the nation to war were regaining the political helm and only solidified Kennedy's attachment to the Republicans.

His last important honor would be bestowed by his new party, providing a capstone to nearly half a century of involvement in Maryland politics. When Baltimore Republicans asked Kennedy to deliver the keynote speech at their rally for candidates Ulysses S. Grant and Schuyler Colfax in the fall of 1868, the elderly author seized the opportunity. As a well-respected recent convert to the party, Kennedy might impart dignity and a sense of the city's history to the proceedings by serving as the speaker even though Republican prospects in the state were dim. Given the power flexed by Democrats in the battle over the constitution the year

before, Maryland Republicans knew they would have difficulty in winning the state for Grant. Still, as both the *Baltimore American* and the *Baltimore Sun* reported in their November 2 editions, the rally was a rousing success. Held at the Front Street Theatre, the site of numerous important political gatherings including the second 1860 Democratic Convention, the meeting was convened by the Republican State Central Committee, which spent a great deal of money decorating the hall with flags and banners and hiring a military band from Fort McHenry. The theater's dome was covered with eight national flags, and large wreaths made of evergreens and flowers adorned the walls. Gilded eagles graced prominent positions on the stage and on the boxes, but most striking of all was the life-size portrait of Grant that formed the background for the stage. Along the bottom of the large gilded frame was the statement Grant had made before Vicksburg in 1863: "I shall take no step backward." To Maryland Republicans like Kennedy who had supported the war effort, this phrase reinforced the importance of winning the peace through Reconstruction.³⁵

Kennedy's speech stands as an eloquent statement of the pro-Union principles that had guided his political life. On his recent tour through Europe, he told the crowd, he found that a new respect for America and republican government was everywhere evident. The successful end of the war has "shown our Union to be what was not believed before — a *real* government — permanent, indissoluble, invincible, and fully adapted to all the emergencies of national life."³⁶ The final goal yet to be achieved in Kennedy's eyes was the political reconciliation of North and South. Grant, Kennedy proclaimed, was an excellent choice to guide the nation toward reconciliation. "General Grant," he proclaimed, "is signally and emphatically the man to accomplish the great enterprise . . . of our nation — the restoration of a brotherhood, more cordial and mutually tolerant than ever before." Kennedy rarely gave such unconditional endorsements to political candidates, even those running for the presidency. But Grant appealed to Kennedy precisely because he was not a politician. The general could achieve the goal of reuniting the nation because of "his freedom from sectional prejudices himself, together with a disposition to conciliate and subdue them in others." In conclusion, he exhorted the audience and the nation "*to forget and forgive.*" Kennedy lived on in ill health for almost two more years, but this was to be his last major public appearance.

Although Kennedy retired from public life after the speech, he was well-remembered at the time of his death at the age of seventy-five in August 1870. Newspaper obituaries across the country, including two columns published in the *New York Times*, lavished praise upon his political and literary career. Although Kennedy is known today chiefly for his contributions to American literature, the *Times* devoted almost the entire obituary to his political life. As the *Times* pointed out, the common thread of Kennedy's fifty years in American politics was his

commitment to the preservation of the Union.³⁷ From his initial term as Speaker in the Maryland House of Delegates in the early 1820s to his Baltimore speech for Grant in 1868, Kennedy had consistently defended the Union. But his path to the Republican party was not a direct one. During the war, he abandoned his antebellum views opposing abolitionism and the Republicans, embracing instead emancipation and Lincoln. This twisted path made him many enemies in the South, particularly among those secessionists Kennedy had criticized so harshly. But for Kennedy, the preservation of the Union was more important than friendship or even blood ties. In 1862, on his sixty-seventh birthday, Kennedy reaffirmed his faith in the Union: "I acknowledge no higher duty, here on earth, than that of . . . [making] every sacrifice which power or fortune may exact of me in the endeavor to preserve the Union and defend the Constitution."³⁸

NOTES

1. John Pendleton Kennedy Journal, April 7, 1859, Kennedy Papers, Peabody Library, Baltimore [hereafter Journal]. For a description of the Peabody Institute Library's extensive holdings of Kennedy writings, see Lloyd W. Griffin, "The John Pendleton Kennedy Manuscripts," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 48 (December 1953): 327–36.
2. Charles H. Bohner, *John Pendleton Kennedy: Gentleman from Baltimore* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1961). For a more detailed examination of Kennedy's contributions to American literature, see J. V. Ridgely, *John Pendleton Kennedy* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1966) and William R. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), chapter 5.
3. Stefan Nesenhöner helps to rescue Kennedy's political career and ideology from obscurity, but Nesenhöner ends his useful examination at 1861. See "Maintaining the Center: John Pendleton Kennedy, the Border States, and the Secession Crisis," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 89 (Winter 1994): 412–26.
4. Bohner, *Gentleman from Baltimore*, 3.
5. Ridgely, *Kennedy*, 20. Kennedy's early literary success is discussed in David Tomlinson, "A Publisher's Advice to Young Authors: John P. Kennedy and Peter H. Cruse Serve a Literary Apprenticeship," *The Southern Literary Journal*, 14 (1981): 56–71. See also, Ridgely, *Kennedy*, 24–26 and Bohner, *Gentleman from Baltimore*, 29–31 and 36–45.
6. Kennedy, Journal, November 16, 1832 and December 21, 1833.
7. See Thomas Brown, "John Pendleton Kennedy's *Quodlibet* and the Culture of Jacksonian Democracy," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 16 (1996), 625–43. According to Vernon Parrington, *Quodlibet* "is the most vivacious criticism of Jacksonianism in our political library, one of our few distinguished political satires." See *The Romantic Revolution in America, 1800–1860* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1927), 56.
8. For selected congressional speeches by Kennedy and his views on corporations, see his *Political and Official Papers* (New York, 1872): 183, 192, 204, 219.
9. Kennedy, Journal, September 7, 1850.
10. Kennedy to Philip Hone, November 28, 1849. Also quoted in Bohner, *Gentleman from Baltimore*, 170.

11. Kennedy, Journal, October 21, 1856 and November 1, 1856.
12. Ibid., November 1 and 2, 1852.
13. See especially, Jean Baker, "Political Nativism: The Maryland Know-Nothings as a Case Study," in Aubrey C. Land, Lois Green Car, and Edwards C. Papenfuse, eds., *Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland* (Baltimore, 1977), 319–32.
14. Kennedy, Journal, September 29, 1859. Also quoted in Baker, *Politics of Continuity*, 32.
15. Kennedy, Journal, March 5, 1857, April 7 and September 29, 1859.
16. Bohner, *Gentleman from Baltimore*, 228.
17. Baker, *Politics of Continuity*, 44. See also Bohner, *Gentleman from Baltimore*, 238.
18. Kennedy, Journal, December 21, 1860. The two pamphlets are also discussed in Nesenhöner, "Maintaining the Center," which considers Kennedy's moderate position on slavery.
19. Kennedy, "The Border States: Their Power and Duty in the Present Disordered Condition of the Country" and "The Great Drama; An Appeal to Maryland" were originally published in 1861 but are reprinted in Kennedy, *Political and Official Papers* (New York, 1872). For quotations see pages 544, 588–89, and 592. For detailed discussions of these essays, see Nesenhöner, 417–21.
20. Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press for the Maryland Historical Society, 1988), 278–81; Bohner, *Gentleman from Baltimore*, 229–30.
21. Kennedy, Journal, September 15, 1861.
22. Roland C. Burton, ed., "John Pendleton Kennedy and the Civil War: An Uncollected Letter," *Journal of Southern History*, 29 (1963): 374–76.
23. Kennedy, Journal, January 16 and April 14, 1861, September 18, 1862.
24. Ibid., January 2, 1863.
25. Kennedy to Philip C. Pendleton, February 3, 1863, Kennedy Papers; Kennedy, Journal, July 1, 1863.
26. Kennedy, Journal, September 18, 1863. Bohner, *Gentleman from Baltimore*, 231.
27. Kennedy, Journal, November 28, 1864. On the 1864 Maryland Constitution, see Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), especially 129–32; Charles L. Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862–1864* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1964), especially 221–30; and Baker, *Politics of Continuity*, 102–10.
28. It is not clear why Kennedy chose this particular *nom de plume* for his *Letters on the Rebellion*, but, considering the condemnation heaped upon him by friends who sympathized with the Confederacy, he probably was attempting to avoid further direct confrontation. Additionally, Kennedy still adhered to the notion that it was inappropriate for an author to call attention to himself, an outdated notion by 1865 but one to which the aged author subscribed.
29. Kennedy, *Occasional Addresses and The Letters of Mr. Ambrose on the Rebellion* (New York, 1872), 331, 385.
30. Ibid., 335, 336, 342, 351–53.
31. Ibid., 360, 371, 372.
32. Ibid., 332, 469.
33. Kennedy, Journal, March 5, 1865. In his journal entry for April 17, 1865, Kennedy expressed personal dismay at Lincoln's death: "My head very much out of order. I cannot work."
34. Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 134–35; Baker, *Politics of Continuity*, 179–81.
35. For a detailed description of the decorations and the speeches of the rally, see the *Balti-*

more American and Commercial Advertiser, October 31 and November 2, 1868, and the *Baltimore Sun*, November 2, 1868. The history of the Front Street Theatre, which began as a circus hall, is quite interesting. See J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), 689

36. Kennedy's speech was reported in the *Baltimore American*, November 2, 1868.

37. *New York Times*, August 21, 1870.

38. Kennedy, *Journal*, October 25, 1862; Bohner, *Gentleman from Baltimore*, 229–30.



Industrious Education and the Legacy of Samuel Ready, 1887–1920

ROBERT S. WOLFF

In November 1887 twelve orphan girls traveled to Baltimore to become the first pupils of the Samuel Ready Asylum for Female Orphans, later named the Samuel Ready School for Female Orphans. Ranging in age from almost six to fifteen, these young girls came from different communities within Maryland and beyond. Five had been born in Baltimore, but others were from Mt. Airy and Annapolis. Three sisters had been born in Chile to American parents. This paper explores the extraordinary bequest of Samuel Ready, a Baltimore-born merchant and investor, and the school founded in his name. Few nineteenth-century institutions attempted to provide both a home and school for orphans; fewer still were intended for girls only. In the late nineteenth century, orphanages were designed to house the unfortunate and provide them with the most rudimentary vocational skills, all the while keeping them from a life of crime and vice. Just as orphanages tended to eschew classical education in favor of simple job skills, grammar schools (public, parochial, and secular private) disdained practical education. Under its new principal, Helen Rowe, the new Samuel Ready institution strove to be both orphanage and school, and thus its methods foretold many that were later adopted in both. To what extent was the Samuel Ready board of trustees able to meet the expectations outlined in Ready's bequest? How did gender affect the management of the orphanage and the education it provided? How did the institution, as a school, compare to others in the Baltimore area?

"The Ready" was recently profiled in Nurith Zmora's outstanding comparative study, *Orphanages Reconsidered: Child Care Institutions in Progressive Era Baltimore* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994). Zmora compared the Ready, an overwhelmingly Protestant institution, with the Hebrew Orphan Asylum and the Dolan Children's Aid Society, founded by Father James Dolan to serve the Irish parish of St. Patrick's. In contrast to Zmora's fine work, which examines the Ready as a child welfare institution, this article will focus upon the orphanage as a school, comparing it to other public and private institutions in Baltimore. That one institution can be seen as an exemplar of both high-quality orphan care and innovative schooling is a testament to the achievements of the Samuel Ready board of trustees and the school's principal, Helen Rowe.

Baltimore in the 1880s was in the midst of profound industrial transforma-

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tions, as were many cities in the Northeast and Midwest. The Gilded Age confrontation between capital and labor that had recently erupted on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and spread to a nationwide strike in 1877 had slackened by the time the Ready was founded. Still, on May 1, 1886, eleven thousand marched in support of the eight-hour day. Perhaps double that number belonged to local branches of the Knights of Labor. The Inner Harbor—then known as the Basin—was, as historical geographer Sherry Olson has suggested, essentially a “fiefdom” of the Baltimore & Ohio and its magnate, John W. Garrett.¹ The rapid electrification of the city, the spread of factories as well as the growing number of southern and eastern European migrants to Baltimore, all made the Gilded Age a profoundly unsettling one for the city’s white, native-born middle class. One of the ways in which they responded to change was to seek political reform in order to exercise greater control over the public schools so that those schools might serve as a bulwark against change itself.

Yet the schools of Gilded Age Baltimore were not designed to handle the larger social tasks that concerned reformers. Public school pedagogy was designed to inculcate civic virtue while teaching “reading, ’riting, ’rithmetic.” The Baltimore board of school commissioners and the city council certainly desired that public education be a form of “social control” that instilled orderly work habits and respect for authority, yet the realities of overcrowded classrooms, irregular attendance, and varying student abilities within classes undermined that objective. Simultaneous recitation proved to be the only means by which the teacher could confront these challenges on a day-to-day basis. In short, the classical education those schools provided, through the process of rote memorization, provided at best a form of esoteric knowledge when students learned at all.² Superintendent Henry E. Shepherd complained in 1875 that “pupils are required to memorize the spelling of whole columns of words not explained by any context,” beyond their comprehension and “even beyond the average teacher.” On examining them Shepherd found that the children could spell “at my dictation, promptly and correctly, such words as ‘Physic, Almonry, Archetype, Dulcimer, Estuary, &c.’ but would immediately afterwards misspell the common and familiar words of their ordinary speech.”³

Closely linked to the practical limitations of classroom practice was the pedagogical intent of the school board. With the exception of a Maritime Floating School, Baltimore educators actively disdained any practical application for the curriculum. The public schools, like those throughout the United States, were ill equipped to provide a livelihood for those students who passed through their doors. Consequently, few working-class families, the vast majority of the city’s population, sent their children on a regular basis or for more than a few years of primary school. It is sometimes suggested that working families refused to send their children to school because it withdrew their children’s earnings from the

Samuel Ready (1789–1869), Baltimore sail-maker and lumber merchant, witnessed firsthand the suffering of the city's poor children. His legacy of a female orphan school offered girls of "good character" an alternative to a life of poverty. (University of Baltimore.)



family wage, but this has always been something of an overstatement. When working families believed their children would receive a tangible benefit in the form of better employment, they willingly invested in education long before school attendance became mandatory in 1903.⁴

Free public education, however, was of little use to orphan children unless they could be cared for by an adult relative or a guardian. Even if they were able to attend, schools did not provide automatic job opportunities. Perhaps it was this situation that motivated Samuel Ready to create a school that would act, literally, *in loco parentis*. The situation for orphan girls was especially acute. Gilded Age and Progressive Era reformers lamented that poor adolescent girls were often "lured" into prostitution, yet they maintained that this represented the moral failure of the girls and not the larger socio-economic conditions of the city. For poor boys there were myriad opportunities such as stocking shelves, running deliveries, and factory work. Poor girls found wage employment scarce. Unlike most of his contemporaries, Ready seems to have understood that poverty was more dire for orphan girls than boys. Only decades later did women social reformers begin to address the specific needs of working poor women in urban America. Robyn Muncy has described the emergence of a "female dominion" in the social reform movements of the Progressive Era, beginning with the Hull House settlement in Chicago and spreading outward through a network of contacts developed by Jane Addams and others. It is also becoming clear that, nationwide, many teachers saw

themselves as urban reformers and cooperated with women's social reform organizations. Lacking the wealth or social contacts of the Hull House sisterhood, these women strove to improve their communities by making public schools a vehicle for social reform. Yet unlike teachers in the public schools, Helen Rowe and the head teacher at the Ready, Clara Steiner, had the resources to transform the lives of the young girls in their charge. The bequest of Samuel Ready made this possible.⁵

The Founder's Bequest

Samuel Ready was born in Baltimore County in 1789. He apprenticed to the sailmakers Grafflin and Hardester in Baltimore in 1804. Eleven years later Ready established a partnership with James Kerby to form a sailmaking firm on Light Street wharf near Camden. Over the following years, Ready and his various partners prospered as sailmakers and land speculators in Baltimore. In 1864 Ready drew up a charter for a "female orphan asylum" and submitted it to the Maryland state legislature for incorporation. When Ready died in 1871, the value of his real estate was placed at \$328,000. An estimate of his personal property, made by his executor five years later, totaled another \$43,000.⁶ Although Ready never married and had no direct heirs, his sister's family, who had cared for him in the last years of his life, challenged the estate, and according to Nurith Zmora, still bitterly protested the terms of his will as late as 1902. The estate nevertheless prospered, totaling some \$554,000 in 1882, including the \$50,000 purchase of a sixteen-acre property known as "Belmont" at the intersection of North (or Boundary) Avenue and Harford Road. Although this was not the site that Ready himself had selected for the "asylum," the board felt it important that, "it is on the *north* side of the avenue, is upon higher ground, and has more land attached to it: in fact it occupies one of the most commanding sites in the suburbs of the city, overlooking a large part of the town, the Patapsco river, etc."⁷ Originally the country estate of the Chevalier d'Anmour, the French consul to Baltimore during and after the Revolutionary War, the new site bordered on paved thoroughfares but was otherwise far removed from the center of the business district. The school remained at this location until 1938.⁸

In bequeathing his substantial estate for the care of orphans, Samuel Ready's act was part of a nationwide trend in which community activists and social reformers sought to "rescue" homeless children from their surroundings, provide them with a roof over their heads, and teach them a trade. Charles Loring Brace, the founder of the New York Children's Aid Society (NYCAS), was a pioneer in the "placing out" movement, relocating children in need to private homes—what we would now call "foster homes"—and organizing "orphan trains" to re-settle urban children on American farms as early as 1854. Historian LeRoy Ashby argues that

these efforts perhaps tell us "less about the children themselves than about shifting ideology and a rapidly escalating panic over changing conditions in the nation's economy and cities." Reformers like Brace saw childhood as a battleground between positive and negative influences: unprotected children could become part of "the dangerous classes" that white, middle-class, native-born residents associated with the forces of urbanization, industrialization, and immigration.⁹

Little in the surviving records of Samuel Ready and his school suggests that he had so comprehensive a philosophy regarding homeless children. Ready was drawn toward the plight of homeless girls in the Baltimore dockyards. In the reminiscences of those who knew him, the impetus for his generous bequest came from his experiences managing a lumber and sail yard where homeless girls gathered scraps of wood for fuel. "He was often heard to lament the temptations and dangers as well as the sufferings, to which they were subjected."¹⁰ The opening of the school was delayed by planning difficulties (the land chosen by Ready himself proved unsuitable) and a lawsuit from Ready's heirs, who had received little in his will. More than a decade after his death, and after the legal issues had been settled, the board commissioned Colonel William Allan, a former Confederate officer and the principal of the McDonogh School for orphan boys, to suggest how the new school might be organized. Considering the vague nature of the bequest, Allan recommended creating a "home school for girls of good character, of sound body and mind, and of fair capacity." A general course of school instruction with an emphasis on "physiology and hygiene," he felt, would suffice to prepare the school's beneficiaries for motherhood, or possibly nursing. The school might also specialize in some vocational training, such as stenography, so that its pupils would be guaranteed a source of income. In his words, these homeless girls might become "useful women."¹¹

Unlike the military organization of the McDonogh School, Allan suggested that the Ready school should be patterned after the family. "The course of instruction, important as it is, is less so perhaps than the discipline and government of the household. This household should constitute a family (or families, when the number of pupils becomes too great for one), and the greatest care should be expended not only on the moral and religious training of the pupils, but in developing and fixing habits of industry, of neatness, and of helpfulness."¹² Colonel Allan and the board envisioned a principal who would combine competence as a teacher with motherly instincts. Having reviewed several candidates, the board chose a Frederick City principal named Helen Rowe based upon the recommendation of the principal of the State Normal School.

In 1887 the school began to accept applications for admission. With its endowment and facilities, the Ready was no ordinary orphanage. Unlike its public counterparts, which to the twenty-first-century eye evoke Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist*, the Ready could and did bestow far superior preparation upon its pupils

than institutions. In recognition of its own unique nature, the board of trustees successfully applied to the state legislature in 1894 to change the official name from an orphan "asylum" to an orphan "school," reasoning that there was a "disadvantage, through a prejudice, perhaps unexpressed and undefined, against the graduate of an institution which went by the name of an 'Asylum.'" ¹³

To what extent were the institution's trustees able to fulfill Ready's bequest in the selection of pupils? This section draws upon an extraordinary register begun by Helen Rowe that covers all of the applicants to the school between 1887 and 1921. For each applicant, Rowe or one of her assistants recorded the child's name, address, date of application, surviving parent (if any), results of physical and mental examinations, and, if the child were fortunate, acceptance and graduation dates. All told, the register contains more than one thousand entries, making it a comprehensive record of those who sought admission. Additionally, Rowe kept further information on successful applicants, binding materials in a small packet for each pupil who entered the school. Combined with other materials—letters, the school paper (*The Ready Record*), newspaper clippings, etc.—these sources permit a close examination not just of the school's administration but of its pupils, their interests and vocations, their triumphs and malfeasances. To analyze the register, the applicants were divided into four cohorts based upon their year of application to the Ready. The first cohort, 1887–90, consists of the original applicants to the school, who were clearly exceptional. The other three cohorts cover the remaining three decades of the register: 1891–1900; 1901–10; and 1911–20. ¹⁴

Perhaps one of the most surprising things about these nineteenth-century orphans is that most of them were not orphans by today's standards. Almost all of the children who applied to the Ready were "half-orphans" with a surviving parent, usually (but not always) the mother. Historians of the welfare state—Linda Gordon, Gwendolyn Mink, Joanne Goodwin and others—have traced the "feminization of poverty" in the United States. ¹⁵ Middle- and middling-class families were dependent upon the husband's wage, and when that husband became disabled, died, or deserted his family, the consequences were often catastrophic. Janet Dulberger, in her aptly titled volume on orphan care, "*Mother 'Donit fore the Best*," summarizes the fragility of family life before the emergence of the welfare state. "Everyone was vulnerable. There were no safety nets when calamity struck. No one escaped the fear of poverty, for it was always present or nearby." Working-class families required the wage labor of both men and women (and often children) to survive. There were few respectable occupations for a single woman that could provide the income necessary to sustain a household. Many widows were forced to accept time-consuming, manual-labor jobs as seamstresses, domestics, laundresses, or day laborers. A fortunate few converted their homes into boarding houses. ¹⁶

Not surprisingly, these female-headed households constituted the majority of those that applied to the Ready. If the percentage of applicants who had lost their

father remained more or less constant, hovering around two-thirds, the acceptance rate, based upon gender of the surviving parent, did not. The overall acceptance rate remained surprisingly constant despite fluctuations from year to year of the number of spaces available: slightly less than half of all applicants were accepted across this entire period (although in the decade from 1901 to 1910 it was only 38 percent). In the early years of the school, the acceptance rate based upon gender of the surviving parent was the same for both women (45.3 percent) and men (43.8 percent), but the school rapidly began to accept far more children from widows than widowers and even fewer children who were actually double-orphans, having lost both parents. The precise reasons for these changes must remain speculative at this time. It may be that as the vocational content of public education expanded during the early twentieth century, Helen Rowe and the Ready board of trustees felt less compelled to accept the daughters of widowers. Assuming that a father could provide room and board, the public schools could by then be counted upon to provide job skills through Domestic Science (later called Home Economics) classes. It may also have been the case that Rowe understood that adolescent daughters of widows faced the risk of sexual assault from their mothers' boyfriends or prospective husbands. When the Ready opened its doors in 1887, the age of consent for sexual intercourse was ten under Maryland law. Between 1885 and 1920, well-publicized campaigns throughout the United States, often led by chapters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, succeeded in raising the age of consent to sixteen or eighteen in most states. In Maryland, the age was raised first to fourteen, and then to sixteen in 1899.¹⁷ The Ready school opened at the beginning of this period of heightened awareness among child welfare advocates, when concerns about statutory rape and incest were sometimes unspoken but hardly unknown in child welfare circles.¹⁸

The register also contains important clues about the geographic origin of the applicants because it recorded both place of birth and place of residence at the time of application. In the early years, roughly one out of every four applicants came from western Maryland, especially from Frederick County, and a sizeable number hailed from southern Maryland. One reasonable hypothesis for this is that Rowe herself helped to disseminate knowledge of the new institution to the places she knew best, which is to say western Maryland—she grew up in Emmitsburg and worked in Frederick. In that day and age, the only information available to Rowe and the board were the letters that accompanied each application, letters from schoolteachers, ministers, neighbors, and prominent citizens from these far-flung communities. At least initially, Rowe relied upon informal networks that she knew to ensure the best possible applicants for the school. If this was favoritism on her part, within four years the pattern shifted so that western applicants represented a smaller percentage of the total. It is more likely that Rowe's early western emphasis was an effort to make sure that the school's first pupils were "good bets."



The Samuel Ready Orphan Asylum opened in 1887 at the corner of North Avenue and Harford Road. In 1938 the facility moved to Catonsville. (Maryland Historical Society.)

It is also important to remember that although the Ready bequest was intended for children from Baltimore, Rowe would not have known many people in the city during her first few years at the school. Over the next three decades, however, a little more than half of all applicants came from the city of Baltimore, and as the city annexed more nearby land in 1888 and 1918, that figure rose to three-quarters. It is worth mentioning that in some cases the place of residence in Baltimore was a temporary address, a fact that Rowe noted in the register if she knew.

Rowe and the trustees interpreted the terms of the bequest in light of their own experiences and instincts. While Samuel Ready had specified an institution for girls “from five to thirteen years of age,” the board—at William Allan’s recommendation—chose to read this as establishing the age of admission rather than as the range of years in which young girls could reside at the orphanage. Ready had also designated his bequest for young girls in Maryland, which the board expanded to include some girls who were neither born in nor resided in the state. The more fundamental question, however, is whether the Ready actually admitted the children targeted in Ready’s bequest.¹⁹

If the statements written by the Ready board of trustees are to be accepted at face value, Ready was moved by the sight of homeless girls in the Baltimore dockyards. Certainly some of the original cohort of girls fit this general description. The father of Ethel and Emmelina B. had been a merchant overseas; the children were born in Chile, where the family resided for several years. After his death, the girls’ mother—who had two boys and three other girls not of age—took work as

a seamstress, though a letter of recommendation for Ethel from the Baltimore Orphan Asylum suggests that she was unable to keep the family together.²⁰ The mother of Emma, Julia, and Lillian D. tried to keep her children in the family, sending them to live with uncles and keeping a son, but placing two girls at the Ready. Their father had “manufactured plain and ornamental iron work.” These were middle-, or at least middling, class families, but others were more humble. Sarah C.’s late father had worked as an undertaker while her mother labored in a dairy. Mary T.’s parents were described as a laborer and a day-worker.²¹

The families or guardians of later applicants compiled more impressive credentials before applying for positions for their children. Mary J.’s application was supported not just by the usual references—in this case a pastor, Sunday School teacher, and public school teacher—but also by important educators like J. S. Whittington, the principal of the Group K schools in Baltimore County, and John T. Hershner, the Assistant Superintendent of the Board of School Commissioners. Hershner wrote, “Few children of families in moderate circumstances have the same good fortune to be reared in a home where the relations possessed so many good qualities.” A final letter of support came from Edwin Mayfield, president of the Fidelity Trust Company. Over time, connections mattered. In 1909 Helen M. received support from Charles J. Koch, then principal of the Group E public schools in Baltimore as well as the head of the Public School Teachers Association and who became superintendent of the Baltimore schools in 1915. Koch was a powerful Democratic insider in city politics, largely responsible for agitation amongst the teacher corps that led to the ouster of Progressive superintendent James Van Sickle in 1911. The Ready board could hardly have been unaware of his influence. One correspondent on behalf of Alice M. even mentioned that her father had apprenticed with the firm of Kirby & Ready.²² Still, as with the earlier examples, there is no doubt that sudden death could propel even a middle-class family into poverty. When the fathers of Frances D. and Albert G. (who were, respectively, a building contractor and a ship’s captain) died, the widows took work as seamstresses. Nevertheless, the families from which the later students came were more financially secure on average than their predecessors and better able to muster the contacts necessary to secure a slot at the Ready.²³

For Helen Rowe, Clara Steiner, and the board of trustees, the orphan school’s growing reputation created profound dilemmas regarding which pupils to admit, particularly when, as Rowe noted in her annual report for 1902, “discouragement” frequently went hand in hand with “success.” Though candidates often sent five or more letters of recommendation, where an earlier generation had sent two or three, not all successful applicants lived up to expectations. “We change the girl, but not girl nature,” Rowe lamented. “While some are receptive, responsive and in every way a pleasure, others are non-appreciative, careless, without ambition, and need constant urging to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded. As the

work advances, we realize more fully the wisdom of selecting the best physically and mentally of our applicants, and only retaining for the full course those who show the disposition and capacity to take training."

Not all had such a disposition. In January 1888 Mabel B. was returned to her mother for "pilfering perfume, pencils, collar buttons, tooth brushes, &c., vulgar talk, improper language—impudence to those in authority." She was, Rowe wrote, "the most untruthful child I ever met." Mabel flaunted the rules, "almost every night creating a disturbance in the dormitory, groaning, pretending to be dying, trying to frighten the children. Nothing had any effect on her." The school doctor said "she steals because she could not help it, is mentally deficient," a diagnosis with which her teacher agreed. Mabel's mother informed the school that the girl had had scrofula, a form of tuberculosis, at the age of two, and had been temporarily blinded. "There seems to be something wrong about her eyes," Rowe wrote. The president of the board declared, "we must by all means get rid of her, that we were to do the greatest good for the greatest number, and we could not, for the sake of the others, any longer retain such an incorrigible subject."²⁴

When a girl was not receptive or rebelled, she was removed from the school in order to provide a place for another. Whatever their ideal vision of orphan care, Rowe and her compatriots were limited not only by recalcitrant students but also by the financial constraints of the Ready trust. Convinced that the education they provided, both schooling and worldly, was best suited to the needs of the children, those who selected the pupils were understandably dismayed when their efforts met with little or no success. To secure applicants who would better appreciate the benefits they received, they were driven to be still more selective. The purpose for underscoring the trend toward greater exclusivity is not to castigate Rowe or the Ready board of trustees but to lament how few Baltimore orphans ever received the benefits of their care. Rowe's tremendous educational and social welfare acumen, in combination with the financial power of the Ready endowment, made the school a model for others, but few emulated it.

Helen Rowe and Industrial Education

The Ready's greatest success, in which it exceeded all other area schools, was in the skillful weaving together of classical and industrial curricula.²⁵ After the "Great Strike" of 1877, the Baltimore city council and school board saw public education as a means to defuse the social tensions of class conflict within the city.²⁶ Public education focused upon classical knowledge while educators admonished that "practical subjects" were properly taught at vocational schools. One year before that labor uprising, Baltimore superintendent Henry Shepherd had called utilitarian education "another heresy" perpetrated by "zealous advocates" who had forgotten "the intention of school and collegiate education . . . is not to prepare for



Principal Helen Rowe and head teacher Clara Steiner, with the board of trustees, worked out a rigorous and effective curriculum that trained young girls in vocational and domestic arts as well as academic subjects. (University of Baltimore.)

certain vocations, but to discipline every power of mind and heart, that the student may attain the highest end of his intellectual nature.”²⁷

The strike forced Baltimore school officials and the city council to rethink that position. In 1884 the city opened one of the first vocational high schools in the nation, the Manual Training School for boys. All schools undertook a renewed emphasis on making education practical, but the classical education—literature, geography, spelling, and other subjects—still predominated, and so working-class families were reluctant to send their children. They were not required to do so: mandatory school attendance did not become law until 1903.²⁸

The situation faced by young women in the public schools was a curious one indeed. Nineteenth-century educators believed that young middle-class girls were destined socially for marriage and motherhood. With the important exception of a small number of women college graduates like social reformer Jane Addams, few young women continued beyond high school. Indeed, the high school provided training for the one respectable occupation for a single, middle-class woman: teaching. Since fewer than 1 percent of young men and women attended high school, however, the bulk of training received by students occurred at the grammar school level. In Baltimore two high schools for girls, Western and Eastern,



Rowe believed that the ability to sew guaranteed employment. Younger students learned basic stitches on aprons, bibs, and quilt squares.

had offered an advanced classical curriculum since 1844, but an orphaned girl faced the hard fact that such public education provided little or no potential for wage employment.

Under Helen Rowe what had begun as an orphan asylum transformed into a Progressive Era school. The student paper, *The Ready Record*, provides a glimpse of significant events in the students' world. On visiting days, the first Saturday of every month, the girls cleaned the house and displayed the results of their studies, both classical and industrial. These occasions also wove connections between current students and graduates, many of whom stopped by to peruse the handicrafts that were for sale. Connections between present and former students could also help to identify job possibilities. As each student reached the age of "dismissal" from the institution, Rowe and her teachers tried to identify a particular area of expertise that would enable her to be self-supporting. This was a potentially contentious process, because it meant defining the possibilities for a young woman. In some cases parents encouraged one path while the school urged another.



The older girls learned dress-making and the complex stitches used in shoe-making, millinery, and saddle-making. (Both photographs University of Baltimore.)

Rowe was pragmatic: if there was one skill that a woman could rely on to find employment, it was sewing. All girls learned basic stitches at a young age and progressed toward more advanced techniques later in their education. The “needle trades” provided an entire range of employment possibilities, from work on clothes to saddlery, shoes, and hats. Baltimore grew into a regional supplier of sewn goods in the South after the Civil War and by World War I was the third largest producer of clothing in the nation. On visiting days, the older girls presented finished goods and demonstrated their skill at darning and patching. Younger girls showed off “bibs, gingham waist-aprons, and quilt squares.” In 1894 the school introduced a Wednesday course in “systematic sewing” taught by a Miss Rea from the state Teacher’s College. For this course, each student constructed a portfolio demonstrating “model samples of every branch of sewing, from the running stitch up to darning, embroidery, hamstitching, and drawn work.”²⁹

Basic sewing skills ensured that a Ready girl could at least obtain working-class wages; in this fashion she was her own social safety-net. The goal, however,

was for Ready graduates to receive respectable, middle-class employment as school teachers or in the growing “pink-collar” fields of stenography and typewriting. Classes also included much of what became Domestic Science in the public schools: scientific cookery, household hygiene, and child-rearing techniques. All of this, in combination with schooling in grammar, literature, history, mathematics, and other classical subjects, would have made the Ready easily the equal of any other school in Baltimore, but under Rowe’s tutelage, the school went even further.

As the public schools of Baltimore hesitantly experimented with an industrial curriculum, Helen Rowe integrated that curriculum into the best classical training she could provide. Her intentions may have been solely pragmatic, but they reflect a radical pedagogical approach that anticipated the work of John Dewey. At the Ready learning was never limited to the classroom. In all of their activities, the girls were molded to be the model of middle-class womanhood: well-educated, skilled at household management, knowledgeable about scientific advances in everything from cooking to childrearing, yet with a broader understanding of the world around them. Like many other social reform efforts, the Samuel Ready School was steeped in reformist Christianity. Most girls attended the Madison Square Methodist Episcopal church, while a handful of Episcopal pupils went to Holy Innocents Church. The school subscribed to periodicals such as the *Illustrated Christian Weekly* and *World Wide Missions*. There is every indication that the girls were steeped in the nascent social gospel movement of the day.³⁰

While public school students were still suffering through mindless, repetitive drills, Rowe’s students went on frequent excursions designed to reinforce the classical and industrial curricula. In 1895 the students made numerous trips en masse or in smaller groups. In February, the “Normal” class—those preparing for a career in teaching—visited the South Baltimore Cooking School, which was operated as a Quaker mission. In March the same class also visited the Arundell Club, a women’s social reform organization in Baltimore, to hear talks on “cookery” by instructors from the Johns Hopkins University and the Boston Institute of Technology. Other trips were decidedly classical in their orientation, such as a visit to the art gallery of the Peabody Institute in Mount Vernon, an exhibition at the Maryland Institute, and a performance of *Silas Marner* at the Normal School.³¹

By far the most ambitious venture in these years was a trip to Washington, D.C., in June 1895. The student accounts read like the travel literature of the day, cataloging portraits, delineating architectural and building styles, and re-telling selected portions of American history. Having traveled by train, the students then proceeded to tour the Capitol, Treasury, Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the Smithsonian, National Museum, Fish Commission, zoological gardens, and the Washington Monument, all in one day. This excursion must have been a wondrous break in school routine, but imbedded within it were a series of concrete lessons. Passages from the student reports often read much like this one on the

Smithsonian Institution:

Once within the Smithsonian, we felt as though we must stay there, so many rare and beautiful things greeted us on every side. The stuffed birds looked so natural that it seemed as though they ought to jump down from their perches and fly around. Placed in cases opposite each other were the humming birds, the smallest of all birds, and the eagle, the king. The peacocks were very handsome, and we were compelled to acknowledge them almost equal in beauty to our Jack. After leaving the birds, we looked at the collection of eggs; they were of many colors and sizes. The ostrich egg was the largest, and it was in striking contrast to the smaller eggs near by. The shell of the Nautilus was lovely and brought to our minds Holmes' poem, "The Chambered Nautilus."

In an age when learning was overwhelmingly teacher-centered, in which teachers drilled information into their pupils, innovative activities that were student-centered must be given their due. The trip to Washington gave students a chance to practice their skills of observation and categorization. They were apparently encouraged to make connections between what they saw and what they had learned in other contexts: thus Mary H., who wrote this excerpt, evoked Oliver Wendell Holmes' 1858 poem to illuminate her description of the Nautilus specimen.³²

It is in the contrast between the educational outlook of the Samuel Ready School and other institutions that the significance of Helen Rowe's efforts becomes clear. Urban public schools in the late nineteenth century struggled to cope with increasing numbers of students, overcrowded facilities, and political corruption in the administration of school funds. Larry Cuban, one of the few historians to study classroom teaching practices during the nineteenth century, writes that the growing industrial and corporate economy prized "notions of bureaucratic efficiency, organizational uniformity, standardization, and a growing passion for anything viewed as scientific," an attitude educators came to share. "Harnesses to an infant science of educational psychology that believed children learned best through repetition and memorization, these social beliefs, reinforced by the scientific knowledge of the day about learning, anchored teacher-centered instruction deeply in the minds of teachers and administrators at the turn of the century." The Ready School was not burdened with the problems facing Baltimore's public schools or orphanages so perhaps Rowe's insistence upon hands-on, participatory learning is little surprise. It is important to remember, however, that student-centered instruction was novel. Whether or not Helen Rowe knew the "principles of object teaching" then espoused by Edward Sheldon at the Oswego State Normal School in New York, she certainly would have agreed with the notion that the

teacher should, "Never tell a child what he can discover for himself." Similarly, she may not have known directly about the "Quincy system" of Francis W. Parker, although she shared the emphasis on collective work and what became the Progressive educational mantra: learning by doing.³³ Rowe was also an active member of the local Industrial Education Association. She invited numerous education professionals to visit the Ready, and she toured other schools out of state.³⁴

The Ready girls were also steeped in the women's social reform movements of the day. The influence of the Ready in Baltimore was hardly as grand as that of Hull House in Chicago, but both reflected the growing importance of women social reformers within American society. Students at the Ready were provided with both an education and a world view. The education combined both classical subjects and industrial training but the world view was that of social reform. This ethos permeated everything from the design of the curriculum to the shape of children's play. Even "Play-Room" activities reflected the belief that women's most important roles were public ones. Using their dolls, young girls engaged in what childhood experts would today call role-playing, diagnosing and treating cases of diphtheria.³⁵

In 1892, muckraking journalist Joseph Mayer Rice visited Baltimore. In a devastating portrayal of classroom practice published in *The Forum*, he concluded, "I did not succeed in discovering any evidence that the science of education had as yet found its way into the public schools of Baltimore." He continued, "Is the fundamental law of pedagogy not absolutely ignored when all interest is crushed out of the process of learning, and what can be less interesting to little children than the computation of abstract numbers by the hour, or calling off words in a meaningless way from a reading-book? Is there anything less interesting and more burdensome than learning text-books by heart, and especially when the words convey little meaning to the learner? And, finally, what is there in the teaching above described which could not be undertaken by any one able to read, write, and cipher?" Unfortunately Rice did not visit the Samuel Ready School which was anticipating Progressive Era educational reforms more than a decade before they began.

Whether Samuel Ready ever intended his bequest to provide an elite education for a few fortunate orphans rather than basic care for the many remains unclear. In a January 1902 editorial, William Ready Tumblinson decried the administration of his uncle's bequest: "What a contrast between the class of persons he wished to benefit in an 'asylum' with open doors all year round, and that of a few fortunate successful competitors at the end of each scholastic year at a cost of \$500 per annum." Yet not even those who knew Ready, such as E. Glenn Perine who served on the board from 1864 until 1913, could ever say with certainty what Ready's thinking was. Whatever Ready's intentions, however, Helen Rowe transformed his bequest into an exceptional institution.³⁶ Not satisfied with providing

industrial training, she insisted that graduates learn the classical canons as well. Even in the industrial coursework, Rowe endeavored to guide students toward careers suited to their own particular talents, acting as a modern-day guidance counselor might. Upon successful completion of their training, the Ready girls were "dismissed" from the institution. In her annual report for 1894, Rowe listed the occupations of the first graduates of the institution:

Frances D., of Frederick, Md., left us in 1890, now employed as stenographer and typewriter in the office of a daily newspaper in Frederick, Md.

M. Imogen D., of Frederick, Md., left us in 1891, now teaching music in Frederick, Md.

Ethel L. B., of Baltimore, left us in 1892, now employed as typewriter in the office of Shriver, Bartlett and Co., Baltimore.

Laura A. K., of Annapolis, left us in 1893, at straw work with Brigham, Hopkins and Co., Baltimore.

Ella M. L., of Baltimore, left us in 1893, now employed as stenographer and typewriter, in the office of E.J. Mabbett, Baltimore.

S. Emma D., of Kent County, Md., left us in 1893, now employed as typewriter in the Herald Office, Baltimore.

Sarah M. C., of Baltimore, left us in 1893, employed as a stenographer and typewriter in the office of the Secretary of the Charity Organization Society, Baltimore.

Mary T. G., of Baltimore, left us in 1893, engaged in dressmaking in Baltimore.

Blanche B. D., of Baltimore, left us in 1893, now teaching in a Public School on Kent Island, Md.³⁷

The Ready school provided an "industrial" education, but not in the sense of preparing students for factory employment. For Rowe and her peers in the local Industrial Education Association, the education provided was "industrial" in the sense that it trained young women to be industrious at work as well as in the home and community. Judged by this standard alone, the Ready school was an extraordinary success. To be sure, some of the graduates never achieved all that their education promised but they were trained to be the "heroes of their own lives." Over time, an increasing number of the institution's graduates completed a "business course" in stenography and typewriting, and more qualified for teaching

positions. Fifteen years later, the four young women “honorably dismissed” showed equal or greater promise. Alice H. attended the Baltimore Training School for city teachers while living at the Ready to save expenses; she became a teacher in the public schools of Baltimore. Fanny E. won a scholarship to the State Normal School and then accepted a teaching position in Washington County near her mother’s home to help raise her younger brothers. Inez K. opted for the business course and worked for the Charity Organization Society. By living at the Ready for the remaining six months of her eligibility, she was able to pool her savings with her brother to care for their mother. Elizabeth M. did not complete any formal program at the Ready but was employed as a clerk at Hutzler Bros. in Baltimore. Self-supporting, independent, and socially reformist, the Ready graduates fulfilled the vision of their benefactor, Samuel Ready, and mentor, Helen Rowe.³⁸

NOTES

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1. Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City*, rev. ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 198–207.

2. William R. Johnson, “‘Chanting Choristers’: Simultaneous Recitation in Baltimore’s Nineteenth-Century Primary Schools,” *History of Education Quarterly*, 34 (1994): 1–23; Ira Katznelson and Margaret Weir, *Schooling for All: Class, Race, and the Decline of the Democratic Ideal* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); Michael B. Katz, *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971).

3. Baltimore Board of School Commissioners, *Report* [hereinafter, *Baltimore School Commissioners Report*] (1875): 343–45. Shepherd was himself a victim of the political spoils system in Baltimore. In 1881, or possibly 1882, he refused to pay off city hall and the party boss, Isaac Freeman Rasin. In response, his salary was cut by \$500 per annum. In his final report, he proclaimed, “If the school system loses its purity, if its administration be confided to the irresponsible oligarchy, how pernicious the result must be.” See *Baltimore School Commissioners Report* (1881), 37; Vernon S. Vavrina, “History of Public Education in the City of Baltimore, 1829 to 1956” (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1958), 198 n32.

4. Baltimore public schools charged one dollar per quarter tuition to those who could afford the fee. My own research elsewhere shows that as early as 1860, 43 percent of pupils were “free students,” a figure that had risen to 53 percent a decade later. Eventually the tuition became free for all, but the percentage of free students does yield a crude indication of the number of working families who sent their children to school. See Robert S. Wolff, “Racial Imaginings: Schooling and Society in Industrial Baltimore, 1860–1920” (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1998), 110–11.

5. Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence*

- (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), 41; Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890–1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967, repr., New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1984), 135–38; Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890–1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Judith Rosenberg Raftery, *Land of Fair Promise: Politics and Reform in Los Angeles Schools, 1885–1941* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).
6. Frances Meginnis, *Samuel Ready: The Man and His Legacy* (Baltimore: Special Collections, Langsdale Library, University of Baltimore, 1987), 5–14. Ready's life is briefly profiled in J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers, 1874), 690–91; The Organization of the Samuel Ready Asylum for Female Orphans, *A Letter from Col. William Allan* (Baltimore: Press of Isaac Friedenwald, 1887), 3–5. A Ready student's version of the tale may be found in *The Ready Record*, March 9, 1894.
7. Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered*, 28–32, 37–39; *A Letter from Col. William Allan*, 4–5. In 1882, the board of trustees consisted of Hooper C. Eaton (president), E. Glenn Perine (treasurer and secretary), Francis T. King, George W. Corner, Charles H. Mercer, John E. Hurst, and William Keyser.
8. The estate of the Chevalier d'Anmour, whose full name was Charles Francis Adrian le Paulmier, also contained the first statue erected in the United States in honor of Christopher Columbus. The monument was moved in 1964 to its present location near the corner of Harford Road and Parkside Drive. See Columbus Monument Papers (1898–1964), ms. 1241, Maryland Historical Society.
9. LeRoy Ashby, *Endangered Children: Dependency, Neglect, and Abuse in American History* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997), 35–40.
10. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 24, 1871, Series II-B, Box 1, Samuel Ready School Papers, University of Baltimore Archives [hereinafter, SRS-UBA]; Meginnis, *Samuel Ready*, 15.
11. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 24, 1872, November 15, 1882–January 15, 1883, Series II-B, Box 1, SRS-UBA; *A Letter from Col. William Allan*, 12–17.
12. *A Letter from Col. William Allan*, 17.
13. "The Samuel Ready School, 1898," Series III-F, Box 1, SBS-UBA.
14. Because of their sensitive nature, the University of Baltimore Archives maintains a seventy-five year restriction on access to the student files.
15. Linda Gordon, ed., *Women, the State, and Welfare* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990); Gwendolyn Mink, *The Wages of Motherhood: Inequality in the Welfare State, 1917–1942* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995); Joanne L. Goodwin, *Gender and the Politics of Welfare Reform: Mothers' Pensions in Chicago, 1911–1929* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
16. Judith A. Dulberger, "Mother 'Donit fore the Best': Correspondence of a Nineteenth-Century Orphan Asylum" (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 3; Eileen Boris, *Home to Work: Motherhood and the Politics of Industrial Homework in the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 178; Claudia Goldin, *Understanding the Gender Gap: An Economic History of American Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 43–45.
17. Mary E. Odem, *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 8–37; Danelle Moon, "Unnatural Fathers and Vixen Daughters: The Social and Legal Reform of Incest, San Diego, California, 1894," *The Journal of the West*, forthcoming; Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, eds., *The History of Woman Suffrage, Volume IV, 1883–1900* (Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press, 1902), 699.

18. Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives*, chap. 7, especially 210–18. Applicants to the Ready were anxious to put on a good face. It should not, therefore, be surprising that no direct references to statutory rape or incest appear in the applications to the school nor in its administrative records. Contemporary social reformers did not see victims as innocents. In Gordon's words, "the victim was herself polluted, however unprovoked the attack" (216). For these reasons the Ready took steps to protect the girls from any unseemly contact with men. In one dramatic instance in April 1902, the board fought a liquor license application for a saloon proposed for the property across the street. Passengers on the local rail system would loiter in front of the saloon, opposite the main entrance to the school, "which would, looking to the age and sex of the inmates of this home, be very unpleasant, and sometimes, perhaps attended with some risk." Trustees of the Samuel Ready School to Liquor License Commissioners of Baltimore City, April 30, 1902, Series II-D, Box 1, SRS-UBA.
19. *A Letter from Col. William Allan*, 6–9.
20. Student records, #8, 9, SRS-UBA. In order to maintain the confidentiality of the student records, I have adopted the following procedure. Each applicant is numbered in the school's register. These numbers serve as the basis for the references and can be used to identify the individual file from which this information was taken.
21. *Ibid.*, #4–7, 10.
22. *Ibid.*, #754, 756, 758.
23. *Ibid.*, #757, 765. During the superintendency of James H. Van Sickle (1901–11), a Progressive reformer, Baltimore's public schools were divided into Groups with a supervising principal for each. This new system was designed to improve administrative control of the schools. See Wolff, "Racial Imaginings," 225–30.
24. Statement of removal for Mabel B., January 18, 1888, Student Records, #3 SRS-UBA.
25. Helen Rowe to the Board of Trustees [henceforth, *Annual Report*], January 20, 1902, SRS-UBA; Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion*, xv.
26. Clifton K. Yearley Jr., "The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Strike of 1877," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 61 (1956): 188–211; Sylvia Gillett, "Camden Yards and the Strike of 1877," in Elizabeth Fee, Linda Shopes, and Linda Zeidman, eds., *The Baltimore Book: New Views of Local History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 1–16; Wolff, "Racial Imaginings," 121–35.
27. *Baltimore School Commissioners Report* (1876): 8–9.
28. Bayly Ellen Marks, "Liberal Education in the Gilded Age: Baltimore and the Creation of the Manual Training School," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 74 (1979): 238–52.
29. Philip Kahn Jr., *A Stitch in Time: The Four Seasons of Baltimore's Needle Trades* (Baltimore: The Maryland Historical Society, 1989); Jo Ann E. Argersinger, *Making the Amalgamated: Gender, Ethnicity, and Class in the Baltimore Clothing Industry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); *Ready Record*, February 5, 1892, September 14, 1894.
30. *Ready Record*, March 18, 1892.
31. *Ready Record*. Material for this paragraph was based on a survey of issues for 1895.
32. *Ready Record*, June 21, 1895; Larry Cuban, *How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms, 1890–1980* (New York: Longman, 1984), chap. 1.
33. Cuban, *How Teachers Taught*, 31; Ned Harlan Dearborn, *The Oswego Movement in American Education* (New York: Teachers College, 1925, repr., New York: Arno Press, 1969), 42–93, quotation from 69; Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators*, rev. ed. (Totowa, N.J.: Littlefield, Adams, & Co., 1971), 374–95.
34. Helen Rowe to E. Glenn Perine, June 3, 1887, Series II-D, Box 1, SRS-UBA.
35. *Ready Record*, March 13, 1896.

36. Meginnis, *Samuel Ready*, 15–16; E. Glenn Perine, “The Samuel Ready School,” *The Baltimore Methodist* (July 1, 1909), copy in Series III-F, Box 1, SRS-UBA.
37. *Annual Report*, January 29, 1894.
38. *Ibid.*, February 17, 1909.



Portfolio

George Washington Dobbin: A “New Athenian”

“A New Athenian” was a mid-nineteenth-century “Renaissance Man.” George Washington Dobbin (1809–91)—lawyer, judge, a founder of the Maryland Historical Society, and member of the 1867 Maryland constitutional Convention, to name but a few of his achievements—warranted this label. Dobbin “was a man of fine literary taste . . . and took considerable interest in all modern inventions, discoveries, and improvements.” When not performing in plays or giving the judge would study the nighttime skies by telescope in his own observatory or perform experiments with electricity within the confines of his lab at his home on “Lawyer’s Hill” in Elkridge, Maryland.

Dobbin was also a pioneer in photography. His home, “The Lawn,” possessed a darkroom and a gallery into which he enticed his friends and “snapped”



Above: Stereoview of an unidentified dancer.

Opposite: Looking west from atop the base of the Washington Monument in Baltimore. The iron fence was erected in the early 1850s, supposedly to prevent geese and livestock from grazing on the lawns. This was not a public space—families living around the monument controlled access by key.



The family of Constant Guillou at a picnic on their estate "The Briars" near Philadelphia.

their portraits. Though we do not know with certainty when the judge began his photographic activities, by the mid-1850s his work was well enough known by his contemporaries to attract the attention of *Humphries Journal*, a national amateur photography magazine. The magazine evaluated the quality of Dobbin's work as something of which "America has cause to be proud." The judge's passion for photography would last until his death. Dobbin's surviving images relate mostly to his family life and friends. Most of the photographs shown here were taken from 1856 to the early years of the next decade.

The images in the Dobbin collection are stereoviews, first popularized in



"Photographing the lungs."

Europe and introduced into this country in 1851 by two German immigrants, the Langenheim brothers. Stereoviews captured the imagination of Americans with their ability to offer three-dimensional views of exotic settings, urban scenes, and even humorous subjects. This optical effect is created by photographing the subject at two slightly different angles (the same principle used in 1950s Viewmasters). Dobbin first worked with a Daguerreotype camera, changing his



Stereoview taken from the top of the base of the Washington Monument in Baltimore, looking northwest. The building on the right is "Greenway," one of the earliest mansions on the square, built in 1835. To its left is the Tiffany-Fisher House, known today as the Mount Vernon club, the oldest surviving mansion (1842) on Mount Vernon Place.



Possibly Constant Guillou, attorney and amateur photographer.

position for the second shot. Later he purchased a stereoview camera manufactured in England.

Judge Dobbin and noted Philadelphia amateur photographer Constant Guillou regularly corresponded, exchanging photographic recipes and sharing their work with one another. United by their mutual love of photography, Dobbin and Guillou embarked with some twenty others on the famous 1858 Artists' Excursion Train (see "Portfolio," spring 1998) to capture scenic views along the B&O railroad's main line to Wheeling. The Dobbin and Guillou families grew closer and possibly vacationed together.

The Dobbin Collection, still the focus of much more research, is in the process of being fully cataloged and made accessible to the public. The information we present here may eventually need correction as new information is brought to light. Many thanks to Dr. Robert Lisle and James Wollon for their insight and advice.

*Robert W. Schoeberlein
Maryland State Archives*



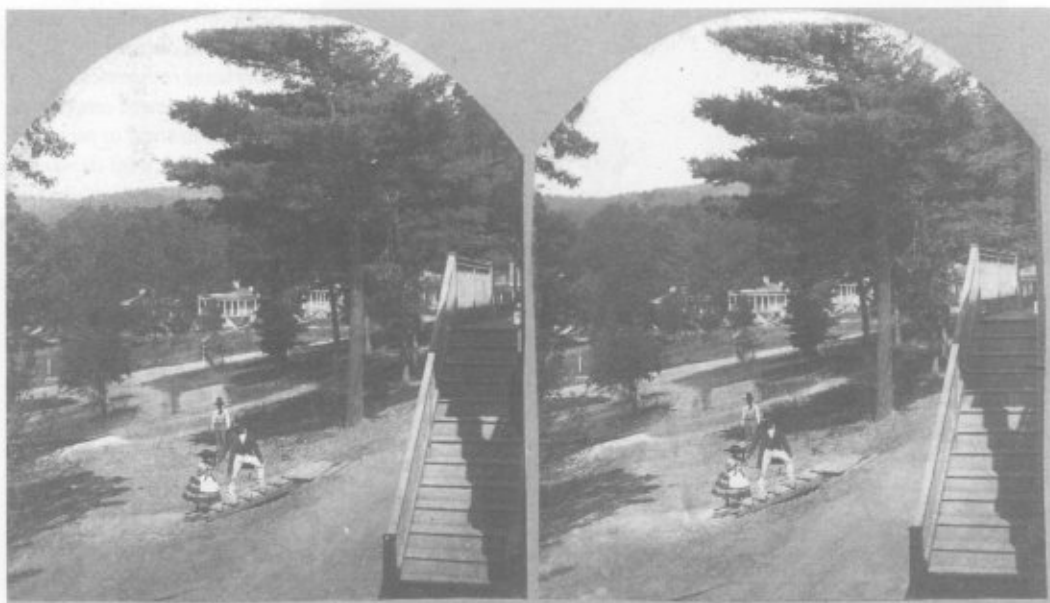
In the 1840s Judge Dobbin suffered a serious illness and escaped Baltimore for a house in the country, "The Lawn," near Relay. As he expanded the house, he added this observatory.



Main entrance to Greenmount Cemetery in Baltimore. During the mid-nineteenth century, Americans romanticized death and viewed cemeteries as places to stroll or picnic. Greenmount, with its winding lanes, flowering trees, and elegant monuments opened in 1839, the fourth such garden cemetery in the United States.



Relay House, on the B&O's main line, was just down the hill from Dobbin's house. Dobbin later recalled the day "we sat on the porch . . . listening to the guns of the first battle of Manassas. . . . We all determined to never let the question of north and south be discussed among us." By that time, Union troops had already occupied Relay House.



Taken from a cottage at White Sulphur Springs, [West] Virginia. Wealthy southerners, including John H. B. Latrobe, Dobbin's next-door-neighbor in Baltimore, Jerome Bonaparte, John Ridgley, and John McKim, owned cottages on "Baltimore Row."



George W. Dobbin with the Friday Club, a lawyers' social club that met from 1852 to 1859 but would not survive the war. Standing left to right: Benjamin C. Preston, George Brown, Charles M. Pitts, Thomas Donaldson, and Frederick W. Brune; Seated left to right: Henry Winter Davis, Severn Teackle Wallis, William F. Frick, George W. Dobbin, William A. Talbot, William Henry Norris, and William H. G. Dorsey.



"Hopper's Farm, Havre de Grace." Dobbin was president of the Tidewater & Susquehanna Canal Company in Cecil County, and Hopper's Farm, or Hopper's Hotel, was at the canal's southern terminus. Dobbin probably frequented it.



Archaeologists uncover timbers from the wharf at Mulberry Landing, the second oldest wharf of its kind in the United States. (Author's photograph.)

Tongues in Trees: Archaeology, Dendrochronology, and the Mulberry Landing Wharf

SUSAN B. M. LANGLEY

*And this our life, exempt from public haunt,
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.*

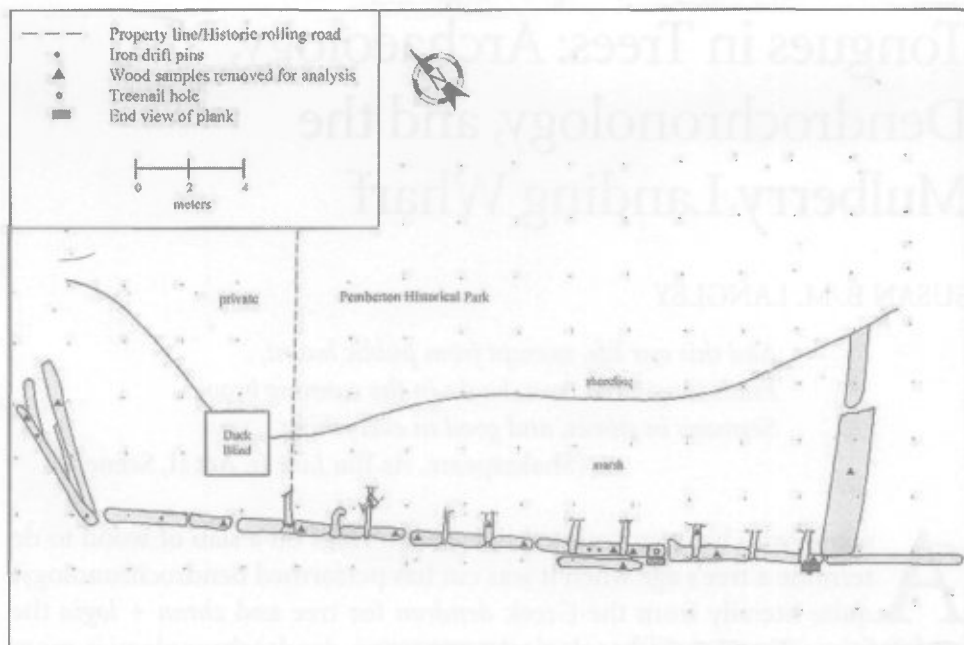
(Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act II, Scene I)

Anyone who has ever counted the growth rings on a slab of wood to determine a tree's age when it was cut has performed dendrochronology; quite literally from the Greek *dendron* for tree and *chron* + *logia* the study of time. From an archaeological perspective, dendrochronology is more complicated, but the result is essentially the same. Between 1995 and 1996, archaeological excavations were opened at Mulberry Landing, Wicomico County, Maryland, to determine the extent, configuration, and age of the wharf remains frequently exposed there at low tide.

Mulberry Landing is at the mouth of Bell Creek on the Wicomico River, within the Pemberton Historical Park, approximately two miles southwest of the city of Salisbury on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Although the park encompasses numerous prehistoric sites, it was created to protect the remains of an eighteenth-century plantation, Pemberton Hall. In addition to the main standing manor house, the grounds contain palimpsests of other structures, including outbuildings and the area known as Mulberry Landing, where documents note that a wharf existed from the second quarter of the eighteenth century through the last decades of the nineteenth. There are two periods in which the wharf might have been constructed; the archaeological challenge was to confirm the correct one.

The original Pemberton tract consisted of nine hundred acres, patented in 1679 to Colonel William Stevens in Somerset County. Wicomico County was subsequently formed from part of Somerset, and Pemberton fell within the new boundary. Although the property passed through several hands, including a Thomas Pemberton from whom the name derived, it remained undeveloped until it was purchased by Colonel Isaac Handy in 1726, the year he married

Dr. Langley is the Maryland State Underwater Archaeologist.



Map of original property, indicating Mulberry Landing.

Anne, of the wealthy Dashiell family. Four years later he had the property resurveyed, adding an additional seventy acres that included the adjacent island known variously as Mulberry, James, Net, and Bell. On the island was a small house, which may have served as the Handy residence while he built Pemberton Hall.

Listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the Hall is a three-bay, one and one-half story, gambrel-roofed brick house in Flemish Bond. A brick above the original side door bears the date 1741. This door is now within a single-story kitchen reconstructed in the 1970s. The house represents one of the earliest gambrel-roofed structures in the state.

Handy had inherited a partial interest in the sloop *William and Mary* from his father in the 1720s and added to his possession the forty-ton sloop *George*. By 1741 he had established himself in the shipping business, exporting to England, among the commodities, tobacco, wool, linen cloth, and cider, all produced on the estate. His son George served as captain and master of the sloop of that name during his father's life and continued to use his father's wharf until the late eighteenth century. At Isaac Handy's death in 1763, the property was divided among his four sons with the youngest, Henry, inheriting the home parcel. Henry ran the plantation much as his father had, experimenting with growing cotton and adding to his portion whenever possible so that at the time of his death in 1787 it consisted of 437 acres, almost half the size of the undi-



Pemberton Hall today. (Author's photograph.)

vided tract. Henry and George, who owned the adjacent lands, spent much time disputing boundary and rights-of-way to, and use of, the wharf.

Henry's son, also Henry, added a successful commercial tannery to the property before his death in 1803 led to the division and sale of the property three years later. Although sold to another sibling, the property remained entangled in legal disputes until 1835, when it was sold to Jehu Parsons. The Parsons family abandoned tobacco and cotton for mixed farming but maintained the cider distillery and developed the wharf facilities. Parsons had two sons; one, also named Jehu, later became mayor of Salisbury, and the other, Alison, inherited the plantation in 1859. Alison's estate inventory of 1868 lists no fewer than six vessels (ranging from a canoe to the schooner *George Edward*), more than sixteen hundred feet of pine and chestnut wharf logs and posts, and ships' stores of turpentine, sails, spars, and anchor chain. Equity files also indicate development around the wharf including at least two buildings (a storehouse and an office for the latter). The wharf appears on an 1865 property plat that depicts it extending more than one hundred feet onto the adjacent property.¹

After Parsons' death (1868) the property was sold to Elihu Jackson, later a governor of Maryland, and James Cannon. Sold again in 1884 to Cadmus Taylor, the land was held in that family until 1960. The next owners, the Rayners, sold the house and road right-of-way to the Maryland Historical Trust three

years later, and the manor was conveyed to the Pemberton Hall Foundation in 1977. The Wicomico County Department of Recreation and Parks bought the surrounding sixty-one acres in 1978 and an additional 164 acres in 1987 to preserve some of the land from extensive suburban development.

The wharf was probably constructed either by Isaac Handy in the second quarter of the eighteenth century or by Parsons a hundred years later. The shallow burial of the timbers, their extension at least a hundred feet in front of the adjacent property, and the presence of several iron drift pins proportionate to the wooden pegs called treenails, make the later time period seem most likely, but no plats from the earlier period indicate the orientation or extent of the original wharf.

This project, to date the Mulberry Landing timbers, was not the first study undertaken at Pemberton Hall. Archaeological activities have been conducted sporadically on Pemberton lands since the 1960s, but few have been done professionally and only two have generated reports.² Although these both make reference to the wharf remains, neither involved any excavation or testing of the area around the landing. The official site form for the wharf, filed with the Maryland Historical Trust in 1982, notes the age as "probably dating to the nineteenth century" with no supporting evidence. Sanders and Moran claim that the wharf timbers are nineteenth-century, although they undertook no investigations at the wharf. Andrea Heintzelman, noted for her wharf studies,³ worked with a local chapter of the Archaeological Society of Maryland in 1986 on a limited testing project that was not completed nor was a report generated.

The project to date the Mulberry Landing wharf began with the intention only of opening a handful of test units to assess the amount and condition of the wharf remaining and examining the construction techniques used thereon. From whatever evidence those efforts uncovered, and from any associated diagnostic artifacts that turned up, the project would attempt to determine the age of the structure. Two-thirds of the remains were cleared, photographed, and measured. The site's location in the tidal zone made windows of opportunity cyclic and brief. Construction of mud dikes with the excavated material extended these windows and when possible the archaeologists coordinated field days with lunar phases to ensure maximum work at low tides. During periods of inactivity at the site, they covered exposed timbers with heavy plastic to keep them wet and to facilitate removal of overburden (archaeologically insignificant soil) when work resumed. Encircling the site with a barrier, pumping it dry, and then excavating within the coffer dam was impractical and prohibitively expensive in view of the fact that the project had virtually no budget. However, in the final stages, the Pemberton Hall Foundation contracted for a backhoe to dig a small sump pit to aid in keeping the site drained for a day. Archaeologists undertook no excavation on the shore, where no obvious re-

mains of any wharf-related structures remain, although traces of the original road to the landing still exist. It ran along the boundary of the park and privately owned land downstream.

We learned that the wharf's remains consist mostly of two courses of timbers, squared only on the top and bottom, joined by lapped scarf joints pinned by treenails and, in several places, with iron drift pins. There is evidence of a third course at the western (downstream) end and in the middle, where fallen timbers lie nearby. It is of bulkhead style construction: three sides with the shore making the fourth and held in place by large end timbers and with tie-backs dovetailed into the facing wall and angled back into the fill and shoreline.⁴ There the butts are held down by small poles pounded into the ground at angles such that they cross over the tie-back; these occur at approximately ten-foot intervals along the entire facing wall of the wharf. Some of the ties were deliberately shaped into a classic dovetail, while others were merely natural shapes deemed suitable for the task. The naturally shaped tie-backs were original and not hasty replacements. Since wood was not at a premium, this small economy does not seem in keeping with the overall construction method. Perhaps these were considered to have inherent strength, just as shipbuilders selected naturally shaped, or compass, timbers for specific pieces of ship architecture.

The space between the facing wall and the shore was filled with saplings, earth, and scrap branches. The archaeologists found neither the stone nor domestic debris that is common in many wharf structures. The adjacent shore has had fill added in recent years, and this may be the source of much of the sand in the area. The front face of the wharf is 51.5 meters long from end timber to end timber, with a 4-meter extension on the upstream end. Timbers average 48.5 cm. in width and 38 cm. in thickness. Since there is a thick bark layer on the interior and exterior faces which accounts for 6–10 cm. of the width, the timbers in fact average 38 cm. in width as well, making them square in section. Tie-backs average 10 cm. in width and 4 cm. in depth. No diagonal braces were encountered at the ends which may explain why the heavy end timbers have splayed outward. The upstream timber is the single largest piece in the structure, of pine, probably either Virginia (*P. virginiana* Mill.) or loblolly (*P. taeda* L.) like the rest of the wharf. It is 78 cm. thick and 60 cm. wide. There are three courses of end timbers at the downstream end, but only one is *in situ* and it is more the size of the facing timbers.

Comparison with eleven other archaeologically documented wharves from New Haven, Connecticut, and New Bedford, Massachusetts, to as far south as Swansboro, North Carolina, proved of limited value for dating the site.⁵ Most were of crib-style construction, either open or closed, floored and then filled with stone, sand, mud, or debris. They dated generally from the second quarter of the eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, exactly the periods

covered by the two contenders as the source of the timbers in question. Of the documented sites, Keith's Wharf in Alexandria, Virginia, most closely matches that at Mulberry Landing in that it is of bulkhead-style construction and dates to about 1785.⁶ Cheapside wharf in Baltimore has elements of both crib construction and some bulkheading and dates to between 1754 and 1773.⁷ These provide little argument in favor of either period under consideration, falling as they do midway between. This is also true of a reference from the journals of the noted architect and engineer, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, dated Norfolk, March 23, 1796. He described and sketched a house with a mansard roof which looks very similar to Pemberton. He then commented:

The river is crowded with [torn page] and ill looking weatherboarded Warehouses, upon log Wharfs turned[ed] into every direction of obliquity. The said Log wharfs des[erve] description more than imitation, but they answer the purpose [for] several, years, in a country where wood is in greater plenty, than capitals, large enough to spare a sufficiency for a more permanent but more expensive erection. In the first place a number of round logs are lapped together to the length of the wharf on the edge of the Water. The angles are returned by other logs with diagonal pieces; and the pieces are dove-tailed into the front logs to serve as land ties. This machine being made, is carried to the river where it floats. Another is then made exactly of the same size and construction and being laid upon it, is fixed with treenails (Trunnells). A third and fourth succeeds, and as the wharf sinks it is pushed further and further from Shore. At last it finds the bottom at the depth intended, and the back is then filled up with Ballast stones and Wharf wood (that is, young fir trees of about 4 or 6 inches diameter) cut into lengths of 10 or 12 feet and laid parallel across the ties. The lower logs which are either sunk in the mud or constantly covered with water last a great number of years without injury, but those that are alternately wet and dry, are devoured by the Worm in the course of 7 or 8 years, and the Work is to be done over again. The Wharf then assumes the most irregular twisted appearance imaginable and the Warehouses erected upon it nod in unison with their support. These wooden wharfs are said to be the invention of Mr. Owens, a Welchman. He was a drunk dog, continuing in a state of intoxication sometimes a week together, but when moderately sober his ingenuity and industry made up for lost time.⁸

Latrobe continued at length with delicious gossip about Mr. Owens, his wife's attempts to cure him of drink, which killed him, and the widow's subsequent suitors. Latrobe wrote this immediately upon his arrival from England with its



Original eighteenth-century timbers at Mulberry Landing. (Author's photograph.)

dressed stone quays, so it is not a little biased in its rather harsh assessment. The sketches do bear a strong resemblance to Mulberry Landing, and it is a reasonably accurate description of the construction techniques employed (Fig.5). Adz chips and other construction debris recovered from the mud at the exterior base of the front wall indicate that some of the timbers were dressed in place. The overall paucity of artifacts was surprising: no pipestems, liquor bottles, or domestic refuse, only a walnut-sized nugget of eroded brick and a handful of oyster shells, all possibly from a nearby midden of indeterminate age. A volunteer walking along the shore of the creek located a couple of sherds of Late Woodland Townsend pottery, circa A.D. 900-contact, and some metal-detecting hobbyists (who were permitted to assist for a day) turned in a couple of eighteenth-century buttons found near the edge of the wharf roadway. The only diagnostic artifact from the water is a shipyard jack that dates to the mid-nineteenth century but which was found in the mud external to the wharf. Whether it was used in vessel construction, wharf repairs, or fell off a ship being loaded is something we will never know.

Archaeologists often speak of "asking questions of their data," and so it fell to the wharf itself to tell its age. The presence of the bark layer made the wharf an excellent candidate for dendrochronological analysis. Jack Heikkinen from Dendrochronology, Inc. of Blacksburg, Virginia, took fourteen samples, twelve from along the entire length of the wharf wall and two from tie-backs to determine species and to ensure that any extensions or additions would be noted. He confirmed that all elements were of pine and, using a patented computerized method he calls his key date technique, determined that the wharf must have been constructed prior to 1748 as the latest date was 1747 and many were earlier.⁹ This fits well with the construction of Pemberton Hall in 1741. He also noted there was no indication of insect damage. This suggests that the timbers were used as soon as they were cut—not cut and stored for use at a future time. The heavy anaerobic mud also precluded damage by marine borers. Therefore, it is safe to say the wharf was built on the orders of Isaac Handy himself. The presence of a larger proportion of the more costly iron drift pins relative to treenails may be indicative of Handy's wealth or the importance he placed on his maritime endeavors. Equally they may be later additions, either by the Handy family or by the Parsons family, to prolong use of the older timbers.

The work establishes the wharf at Mulberry Landing as the second earliest archaeologically documented wharf structure. Cruger's crib-style wharf in New York City has been dated to 1739–¹⁰ and the earliest bulkhead-style wharf on the eastern seaboard, thereby the earliest in the country. The project was successful on two levels; it answered the archaeological question and provided, over two years, field opportunities for over a hundred volunteers.

NOTES

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Book Reviews

William Donald Schaefer: A Political Biography. By C. Frazier Smith. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999. 464 pages. \$29.95 cloth.)

Frazier Smith's sparkling book about William Donald Schaefer is subtitled "A Political Biography," but it is also a fascinating personal portrait of an extraordinary individual. Politics, of course, has been at the core of Schaefer's life from the time he first ran for public office in 1950. Over the years, his complex and idiosyncratic personality have so fused with his public life that it is probably impossible for anyone to separate them. Smith's analysis of the private man and public figure is very convincing and absolutely fascinating.

Smith is certainly the person to write this biography. He is one of the *Baltimore Sun's* most distinguished political reporters, and he knows Schaefer very well, covering him first as mayor and then as governor. While the book is in no sense an "official" biography, Schaefer, to his credit, agreed to numerous interviews with Smith, who of course also interviewed dozens of the ex-mayor/ex-governor's friends, former aids, and political associates. Their stories, which provide much of the material for this book, are often quite candid and make compelling reading.

The dominant theme of this biography is Schaefer's public life, his rise through the Baltimore City Council from 1955 to 1971, his long and ultimately triumphant reign as mayor from 1971 to 1986, and his slightly less than triumphant, but still quite successful years as governor from 1987 to 1994. During almost five decades of public service, Schaefer's mixture of intellect, impishness, and moodiness have developed into a political persona that Marylanders are not likely to witness again. From the time he first entered public office, he proved to be a scrupulously honest, intelligent, hard working, and demanding public leader, setting a standard that few have ever matched. At the same time he could carry off madcap publicity stunts, such as his famous swim in the sea lion pool at Baltimore's National Aquarium. That carefully planned caper brought world-wide publicity to the city's new aquarium by combining, says Smith, "high purpose and near buffoonery in exquisite balance" (208). On the darker side, Schaefer's extreme moodiness and outbursts of temper, while sometimes quite useful and perhaps even calculated, occasionally seemed uncontrollable and did him real political harm.

If one looks to Schaefer's boyhood and upbringing, as Smith does in the first few pages of his biography, one gets very few hints about the future political leader. His boyhood in "The Hill" neighborhood of West Baltimore (where

he continued to live until he became governor), his education in the city's public schools, and his military service during World War II all seem quite typical of a good son, a conscious student, and a patriotic American. He gave no sign of interest in politics and later said that as a boy he had no interest in, or knowledge of, the New Deal.

Back in the 1930s and 1940s, when Schaefer was growing up, Baltimore was still a conservative, southern metropolis where class and racial lines remained firmly in place and change of any sort came slowly. Nevertheless, Smith notes that at least a few Baltimoreans, particularly some of the leaders in the local Jewish community (who were very aware of the New Deal), sought to make the city a more just and equitable society. Once Schaefer entered politics and came into contact with these reform-minded individuals, (and witnessed firsthand the injustices and indignities that so many Baltimoreans were forced to endure) he became a champion of the common citizen and a foe of racial segregation. At the same time he remained committed to the full range of middle class values and was instantly suspicious of the new, more radical liberalism that emerged during the 1960s and 1970s.

In 1950, when Schaefer decided to run for public office, Baltimore's politics was still controlled by political machines with ethnic "bosses," political clubs, and all the other trappings of a system that had been perfected back in the 1870s. There was no way into political office except through the backing of a political boss. The man who became Schaefer's mentor, Irv Kovans, was a boss in the predominantly Jewish section of northwest Baltimore and was also one of the more enlightened of the local politicians. The two formed a close political partnership and a deep friendship that lasted until Kovans' death in 1989. Schaefer served on the city council for fifteen years, a Kovans man to be sure, but also an individual who never cut shady deals on behalf of the machine or countenanced anything illegal.

During these years the civil rights movement reached its zenith, compelling every city councilman to take a stand on the race question. Schaefer stood as a confirmed moderate, supporting all the city's civil rights ordinances, but never placing himself in the forefront of the civil rights movement or endorsing any of its more radical members. His rise to the office of city council president in 1967, and then mayor in 1971, certainly owed something to his own formidable abilities; but, as Smith makes clear, these successes stemmed more from his close relationship with Irv Kovans, his moderate position on the race question, and the fact that Baltimore still had a white-majority electorate (Schaefer's opponent in 1971 was the well known African American city solicitor George Russell). All this now seems a long time ago, but Smith's historical reconstruction of that era brings it vividly back to life.

Many of those who voted for Schaefer in 1971, knew him as an energetic

city council president, but most had no idea how momentous a choice they had made. The Baltimore riots of 1968 capped almost two decades of racial turbulence in the city, decades that witnessed a large influx of African Americans from the rural South and an even more massive exodus of whites to the suburbs. The riots, unfortunately, just accelerated the exodus. Not only were white residents leaving the city, factories and retail stores began to exit with them. For those who remained, confidence in the city's future had hit an all-time low. As Smith very correctly states, "hope was barely alive" (145). Mayor Schaefer rose to this crisis with a ferocious optimism that surprised and eventually delighted nearly everyone. For the next fifteen years he turned city hall into a veritable volcano, spewing forth project after project, program after program. By the time Schaefer left the city to become governor, the downtown and the old, rotting inner harbor had been decisively transformed and the city's neighborhoods, while hardly restored to their former glory and in many cases not even stabilized, had at least become involved in the city-wide uplift that the Schaefer administration generated.

Smith makes no final judgement on the effectiveness of Schaefer's career as mayor; but he presents a detailed and cogent analysis of his accomplishments that is unmistakably positive. And so it should be. There seems little doubt that the downtown renaissance, while getting under way during the 1950s and 1960s, owed its real fruition and success to Schaefer and the team of bright, energetic administrators whom he attracted to public service. His administration made an enormous number of substantial improvements in the city's physical plant (much of it with adroitly obtained state and federal tax dollars). Far more important, Schaefer himself convinced thousands of extremely skeptical Baltimoreans (and Marylanders) that Baltimore had a bright future if only people would stop knocking the place and get to work rebuilding it. One is hard-pressed to imagine anyone else who could have carried off this dramatic reversal of public opinion. Perhaps only those who lived in Baltimore during the 1970s can fully appreciate the influence this one individual exerted on people's opinions and feelings. It was his supreme achievement as a public leader.

On the down side of the ledger, it is clear that Schaefer's greatest failure was his inability (perhaps unwillingness) to recast the city's public school system, or at least to find and support some professional educator who would do it. Smith surmises that the "do it now" mayor found the school issue too complicated and time consuming. It was not the sort of battle that he liked to fight or thought he knew how to win. Indeed, at the time (and perhaps even now) the nation's leading educators were themselves deeply divided on the best way to reform inner city schools. For whatever reasons, the mayor put his energies into downtown renewal and neighborhood reconstruction, leaving the task of school reform to future mayors.

Smith's treatment of Schaefer during his years as governor is more abbreviated than the mayoral era; but it is still good reading. The major drama here was the conflict between the strong-minded governor and an equally stiff-necked group of state legislators. Unlike the Baltimore City Council, which allowed Schaefer to assume a role somewhere between a popularly elected mayor and a benevolent monarch, the Maryland General Assembly was composed of many very independent and powerful politicians who would never have allowed themselves to become a rubber stamp for any chief executive. They forced Governor Schaefer to become a negotiator and his eight years in Annapolis, while productive in a number of ways, were far more frustrating than his years as mayor. Two of his most ambitious programs, the "2020" environmental initiative and the Linowes tax reform proposal, went down to defeat. Even so, he proved to be a remarkably successful chief executive, helping to push through one of the earliest state gun regulations (in the face of determined opposition from the gun lobby) and he played a central role in keeping the Orioles baseball team in Baltimore, partly by providing them with a splendid new stadium at Camden Yards. While he lost some popularity with the voters between his first and second terms as governor, his second electoral victory, in which he received 60 percent of the vote (compared to the astonishing 82 percent he received four years earlier), was a margin of victory that most office seekers would envy; but in typical fashion, Schaefer regarded 60 percent as tantamount to voter rejection and remained in a dark mood for weeks after the election.

Schaefer's recent election to the office of State Comptroller is just one more indication that he has become an esteemed political fixture in Maryland and can probably remain in one or another high public office for as long as he wishes to make himself a candidate. For this reason alone Smith's delightful biography is worth reading. In addition, it offers a series of sharp-witted insights into the history of Baltimore and Maryland during the last half of the twentieth century that will remain essential reading for years to come.

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William Osler: A Life in Medicine. By Michael Bliss. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. 600 pages. Illustrations. \$35.00 cloth.)

Michael Bliss's engagingly written and exhaustively researched biography of Sir William Osler is a fitting tribute to the physician's 150th birthday. By incorporating manuscript materials that have surfaced since Dr. Harvey Cushing's 1925 two-volume biography of Osler, Bliss has constructed a three-dimensional portrait of a man who left his mark on medicine. Building on and admirably expanding Cushing's scope, Bliss, a medical historian, provides greater objectivity to his study of Osler's life.

The biography is also well-timed as the United States health care system faces a multitude of challenges and changes that leave many physicians questioning why they became doctors. Osler's life reminds both physicians and patients of the effects a compassionate physician who continues to learn, teach, and remain on the cutting edge of medical practice can have on a patient.

Born in backwoods Canada in 1849 to an expatriate English clergyman and his wife, Osler came to medicine through his interest in natural studies. His passion for studying the diatoms and other microscopic creatures that lived in the rivers of his native Ontario made him an expert microscopist. It also laid the groundwork for his later interest in and mastery of pathology. But Osler, Bliss reminds us again and again, was more than just an expert pathologist; he was able to make the leap from the specimen under the microscope to the patient at the bedside.

Fittingly, Bliss uses Osler's life as a prism to explore medical and social history. Osler's career witnessed dramatic changes in medical education, health care delivery, and the scientific underpinnings of modern medicine. Many of the changes in medical education and practice had their source in the establishment of the Johns Hopkins Hospital and Medical School. These institutions were the medical tabula rasa on which Osler and his fellow physicians, William S. Halsted, William Welch, and Howard Kelly, wrote large their new theories of medical practice.

Osler came to Hopkins in 1889 after teaching first at McGill University (1874–84) and the University of Pennsylvania (1884–89). At both places, Bliss describes in detail how he implemented ideas learned from his time spent in Germany, Austria, and England. At Hopkins, though, Osler and rest of the “Big Four,” as they were known, were free to implement a truly European medical training system. Students at Hopkins learned primarily at the patients' bedside, and clinical clerkships (what we know today as residencies) were open to all students, not just the best and brightest. Hopkins was also the first medical school to establish rigorous admission standards, including a baccalaureate degree. This early medical reform would be codified as a recommendation for all U.S. medical schools by Abraham Flexner's groundbreaking 1910 report, *Medical Education in the US and Canada: A report to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Technology.*”

A baccalaureate degree was not the only admission requirement that set Hopkins apart from other top medical schools: it admitted women on equal footing with men. Decisively setting charges of Osler's misogyny to rest, Bliss describes Osler's role as that of an enlightened pragmatist. His European training had shown him that “medical coeducation was perfectly feasible” (202). And, as he freely admitted years later, “We are all for sale . . . so too with institutions. It is always pleasant to be bought, when the purchase price does not involve the

sacrifice of an essential—as was the case in that happy purchase of us by the Women’s Educational Association” (205–6). Indeed, Bliss mines the primary sources to show that Osler’s support of women medical students was offered, like that of male students, on a case-by-case basis.

Osler’s private practice flourished in Baltimore, as did that of other Hopkins faculty. Bliss uses this to illustrate a nineteenth century trend that pitted teaching physicians against both their community-based colleagues and their hospital employer. Although it did not touch Osler as much as it did Halsted and Kelly, there was a growing sentiment among less successful Baltimore physicians, and indeed some less successful Hopkins-based physicians, that full-time faculty should not engage in private practice. Their colleagues cried “foul” at their seeming abuse of stature to increase both their patient base and their purse. The hospital, especially in the case of surgeons like Kelly, who kept a full surgical suite at his off-campus practice, felt acutely the loss of income.

Osler’s success as a physician owed as much to his clinical skills as his personality. The force of his personality, recounted over and over again by his contemporaries, runs through the biography, tying together vignettes as disparate as his encounters with patients to his creation of an alter ego, Egerton Yorrik Davis. Davis was Osler’s outlet for practical jokes and scatological writings. And although Bliss explores every aspect of Osler’s personality, he wisely refrains from engaging in psychohistory. Indeed, after reading the book, one may safely conclude that in Osler’s case, “a cigar is just a cigar.” His hard work, genuine warmth, love of practical jokes and children, and his success in sharing his *joie de vivre* with all he met, seems to indicate a person who enjoyed life to its fullest.

This did not mean that Osler was immune to tragedy. In 1917 his only son, Revere, died, another casualty of the Great War. Bliss poignantly recounts how Osler soldiered on during the day, throwing himself into his work as Regius professor at Oxford (where he had come in 1905), only to break down at night.

The biographer’s greatest enemy is hagiography, especially with a subject like Osler. Indeed, Bliss is acutely aware that this is the major shortcoming of Cushing’s work, and makes a conscious effort to avoid it. The breadth and depth of contemporary accounts included here excuse any whiffs (and they are so fleeting as to almost be ghosts) of hero worship that may appear. Bliss’s work complements Cushing’s “great man of history” biography and is required reading for anyone who wants to understand both the development of modern medicine and the affect one man had on it.

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Making the Amalgamated: Gender, Ethnicity, and Class in the Baltimore Clothing Industry, 1899–1939. By Jo Ann E. Argersinger. (Studies in Industry and Society Series. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999. 228 pages. Notes, essay on sources, index. \$39.95.)

Just what comprises the social and economic history of Baltimore? Save for the years between 1900 and 1940, written history is primarily the account of western European and African American males, at least a few generations from the immigrant experience. But the first forty years of twentieth-century Baltimore belong to the “white ethnics,” men and women from eastern and southern Europe who swelled the city population by tens of thousands each decade. Russians, Poles, Lithuanians, Italians, and Sicilians re-made Baltimore. In 1900 the city was still a sleepy Southern port with a white patriarchy and a Protestant culture. Thereafter, manufacturing supplanted commerce in the city’s economy, consuming capital and employing workers. A labor movement challenged the patriarchy and unsettled business. Whole urban neighborhoods became immigrant habitats, and Jews and Roman Catholics among the newcomers acquired political power. If white ethnic women had not made it into business board rooms by 1940, they were present everywhere else, in voting booths, political clubs, gender-mixed and all-female work places, union halls, and neighborhood and civic institutions.

Argersinger’s book centers on workers, employers, and a union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, in Baltimore’s once thriving garment industry. These were not typical Baltimoreans, even for the early twentieth century. The workforce was unusually gender-mixed and multi-ethnic, with many old immigrants, Jews, Lithuanians, and Italians as well as “Americans.” Complex relationships of family and ethnicity tied workers, shop floor bosses, and owners. The ACW stood outside the mainstream labor movement with its sometimes socialist and female leadership and a commitment to novel ideas about industrial democracy. Women held office and wielded power within the union more than in any other city institution. However, while the Amalgamated took root and thrived briefly in a city notoriously hostile to unions, it was more of a presence in large factories than in the ever flourishing small shops and sweatshops, and it enrolled a mere 12,000 members, even in its heyday before 1919. Nevertheless, a string of firsts for industry and the ACW defines this study. These include: first among employers of women, first among enduring industrial unions, and the first and earliest major institution to mediate ethnic disputes importantly and assist the advance of ethnics into civic prominence.

Baltimore ranked fourth nationally in the production of men’s garments in 1900 with women and new immigrants confined to less skilled and lower paid jobs in the trade and excluded from or discriminated against by the conserva-

tive United Garment Workers. But after bitter strikes before World War I, male and female immigrant locals bolted the UGW and helped form the national Amalgamated, which pledged to dispense with old craft divisions among workers and organize industrially. Amalgamated locals battled their way to control of the industry by 1917 and brought order and discipline on the shop floor to enforce contracts and workplace arbitration of disputes. Ethnic ties within the union were strong and, among men, displayed with intra-union squabbles and varied forms of resistance to employers. Amalgamated women were not all of the same mold, some seeking separate organizations within the union to recognize gender differences, others their solidarity with men in the union. They responded to economic inequality differently, enthusiastically learning new skills, bonding with their worker-sisters on shop floors and in their neighborhoods, rallying around female organizers, militantly supporting one another on picket lines, and collaborating with middle-class reformers and suffragists. But the industry itself lay out of the Amalgamated's control. A depression after World War I wreaked havoc as large firms went under, desperation strikes failed, and new workers stayed unorganized. In the 1930s low wages in Baltimore drew garment manufacturing from other cities and the Amalgamated essayed to take advantage of New Deal reforms to reassert control over production and to organize "run-away" shops in nearby rural areas.

In an era of re-emerging sweatshops that will likely include Baltimore and its new immigrants if it has not already done so, Argersinger's conclusions are bound to be depressing. But here and there she is at least instructive. A union can thrive while an industry fails, and union-employer collaboration is no guaranteed panacea. Hers is a complex story told very well and clearly. Along the way she challenges stereotypes in the popular culture and one-sided images in the scholarly literature of workers, immigrants, and women. She is convincing throughout.

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Daughters of Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad, 1700–1775. By Rebecca Larson. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999. 409 pages. Appendix, notes, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

In *Daughters of Light*, Rebecca Larson illuminates the lives of eighteenth-century female Quaker preachers. During this period, Quakers were no longer radicals seeking to transform the world but instead had become disciplined, well-organized pragmatists seeking to survive. Despite the change in Quakerism, Larson finds that the lives of these Quaker women preachers differed radically from those of other women.

After explaining the background of the Society of Friends and the theological justification for preaching by women, Larson explores how women received a call to preach and "leadings" to travel. She provides details about their trips, such as places visited, distance and means of travel, and companions. She devotes the second half of the book to assessing the impact that the women's preaching had on their private lives, the transatlantic Quaker community, and the non-Quaker world.

Larson estimates that from 1700 to 1775 a minimum of 1,300–1,500 women ministers were active in the transatlantic Quaker community. While she devotes some attention to women who traveled domestically, the heart of the book is a collective biography of the fifty-seven women preachers (twenty-four from England, four from Ireland, and twenty-nine from the colonies) who crossed the Atlantic in the course of their ministry. The majority of these women were literate young adults, daughters of rural Quakers active in monthly meetings. Most were of moderate or comfortable means, but at least nine came from wealthy families and four from poor families; the monthly meetings provided financial aid and other support to ministers who needed help.

Unlike most women, the female preachers spoke publicly and traveled widely. Nonetheless, most transatlantic ministers eventually married, typically ten years later than other Quaker women, and of those who married, the majority bore children, usually continuing to travel even while pregnant or while their children were young. Despite marriage and motherhood, they remained quite independent, since submission to divine authority was more important than submission to a husband. Their status as ministers gave them greater authority within the family, presenting a challenge to "the patriarchal family structure that framed the legal status of eighteenth-century women" (135).

The women ministers became linchpins of the Quaker community in the eighteenth century. They helped inspire others to enter the ministry; their sermons, correspondence, and extensive publications strengthened the faith of their fellow Friends; and their willingness to criticize reinforced adherence to Quaker discipline, helping to revitalize Quaker culture. Female ministers were often at the forefront of change. Mary Paisley, an Irish Quaker preacher, recommended to Pennsylvania Quakers that they refuse to pay taxes to support the French and Indian War, resulting in the withdrawal of Quakers from public office and an increased commitment to pacifism. Women preachers also led the way in opposing toleration of Quaker marriages with non-Quakers and helped change the structure of the Society of Friends to give women's meetings more power.

Female Quaker ministers drew far more attention than their male counterparts did from the non-Quaker world, which viewed women preaching as a novelty. The public greeted the women as visiting celebrities, while many non-Quaker ministers treated them as professional colleagues. By their ministry, the

female preachers “expanded women’s sphere of influence, demonstrating women’s capacity in a new way” to the non-Quaker world (289).

Larson reiterates this last theme in her conclusion: “These women were religious leaders of a significant Anglo-American group, and their activities enlarge our conception of eighteenth-century women’s opportunities” (303). Their public speaking, travel, and authority within their families and the Quaker community all challenged the typical expectations of women in the eighteenth century. While these women were obviously remarkable, their lives force historians to reconsider their understanding of women’s lives and the fluidity of eighteenth-century society.

Those interested in Maryland Quaker history may be a little disappointed. Most of the transatlantic preachers from the colonies were from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and Larson’s sample of nine of the sixty-eight American monthly meetings did not include any in Maryland. The preacher of greatest interest is Ann Moore, who moved to Maryland from Pennsylvania. Married to a Quaker schoolteacher who was disowned for excessive drinking, Moore became a very assertive preacher, going to Albany in 1756 to deliver an anti-war message to the commander-in-chief of British forces in North America. In 1761, the French captured the ship on which she was traveling to England. They set Moore ashore in Spain, where she was appalled at Catholic culture and argued with a priest before finally raising the money to continue her trip.

Daughters of Light is a well-written book, full of marvelous anecdotes drawn from diaries, correspondence, and many other sources. It is also well-documented, and the appendices include a list of female Quaker preachers and brief biographies of the transatlantic female preachers. Larson is at her best when writing about specific women. The weakest parts of the book are when she deals with the world beyond Quaker women preachers. Rarely is there a quantified comparison between male and female Quaker preachers. On page 93, for example, Larson gives the number of traveling female preachers from various monthly meetings, but without knowing how many male preachers were traveling, it is hard to gauge whether these numbers represent a small group or a large group. More of a problem is the last chapter, which according to its title discusses the non-Quaker response to women preachers. However, Larson devotes much of the chapter to the changes in the colonies and Britain that led to an increased acceptance of Quakerism. She observes, “When Friends won their struggle for toleration, legalizing their distinctive mode of worship, those designated as ministers by the sect were obligated to be tolerated as well” (279). While interesting, this is not about the response to Quaker women preachers nor is it about women as actors but women as beneficiaries, a contrast to the rest of the book.

Despite these minor flaws, *Daughters of Light* does indeed enlarge our view

of the range of possibilities for women in the eighteenth century. It deserves the attention of anyone interested in colonial women's history or religious history.

BEATRIZ BETANCOURT HARDY

National History Day

Lee: The Soldier. Edited by Gary W. Gallagher. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999. 692 pages. Illustrations, maps, acknowledgements, introduction, contributors, index. \$19.95 paper.)

Few if any figures in American military history continue to inspire as much passionate debate among both historians and the public as Robert E. Lee. The traditional view of General Lee as a noble, kind, courageous, and awesomely brilliant leader who personified the finest aspects of the South remains hard to shake. However, critical voices, muted at first but growing in strength during recent decades, have also been heard. Was "the marble man" too committed to the tactical offensive, an ineffective administrator, or lacking in the breadth of mind to recognize the greater importance of theaters of war other than his own? Some scholars reject these occasionally harsh criticisms, calling for a more balanced, realistic understanding of a figure whose career became shrouded in myth and legend even during his own lifetime. *Lee: the Soldier*, edited by Gary W. Gallagher, is a useful, hefty introduction to the growing body of historical writing on the South's preeminent commander.

The book's brief first section reproduces testimony from several sources recounting Lee's postwar comments on his Confederate service. Since Lee left no memoirs and rarely if ever bared his soul either in his official correspondence or in his mostly formal dealings with colleagues and subordinates, these evidently candid, wide-ranging discussions are of much more than passing interest. The longer second section delves into the controversial historiography relating to Lee's overall generalship. Lee's biographer Douglas Southall Freeman, among others, provides an example of the almost worshipful traditional view of Lee as one of the finest generals and greatest men in history. Thomas L. Connelly and Alan T. Nolan's sharply critical, thought-provoking assessments of Lee's perceived shortcomings are also included. Gallagher, William C. Davis, and Albert Castel challenge in varying ways these revisionist scholars, concluding that Lee was a source of strength, not weakness, to the Confederacy.

The book's third section consists of in-depth studies of Lee's performances in several critical campaigns, especially Gettysburg. Carol Reardon's incisive survey of historiography on the Seven Days campaign suggests that scholars have been and remain reluctant to challenge the prevailing image of Lee. D. Scott Hartwig provides a favorable assessment of Lee's conduct of the 1862 Maryland campaign, while Robert K. Krick's contribution on his smashing vic-

tory at Chancellorsville is even more positive. Among several pieces on the Confederate defeat at Gettysburg, Nolan criticizes Lee's decisions and conduct during the battle's first day, while Gallagher offers a more evenhanded, although still somewhat unfavorable, assessment of the general's direction of affairs on the following day. Noah Andre Trudeau's original take on Lee's uneven conduct of his final campaign in 1864 and 1865 rounds out the third section. The book closes with an annotated bibliography by T. Michael Parrish, suggesting two hundred essential books dealing with Lee's career.

This volume is one of the finest and most useful of Gallagher's numerous edited works. Many of the reprinted pieces are obscure or hard to find, while the original essays represent a solid contribution to scholarship on this ever-fascinating subject. Bringing together both old and new essays covering different and conflicting avenues of interpretation, this book will be of great interest and value to Civil War buffs and scholars alike.

MICHAEL THOMAS SMITH
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Masters, Slaves, and Subjects: The Culture of Power in the South Carolina Low Country, 1740–1790. By Robert Olwell. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998. 294 pages. Index. \$49.95 cloth; \$17.95 paper.)

In 1740, the socially connected South Carolinian Eliza Pinckney polished her image of cultural prominence when she described her Low Country life to a friend as "very much in the English taste" (38). Eight years later, in a different context, she conveyed a story in which she had tried desperately to squeeze information out of a slave messenger about her reportedly injured brother-in-law. "I asked him many questions," she explained, "but I could not get anything out of him more than it was a scratch" (191). As separate occurrences, these anecdotes seem unremarkable. Pinckney's direct correlation of sophisticated Low Country customs with metropolitan manners reflects the "Anglicization" theme that colonial historians have been developing for over thirty years. Similarly, the slave messenger's manipulation of privileged knowledge in the face of white authority supports the equally well-documented quest among creolized slaves for agency and calculated resistance. Both of Pinckney's routine experiences, in short, fit within distinct historiographical traditions relevant to the construction of colonial British America's social order.

Robert Olwell's *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects* successfully complicates these conventional categories by bringing them together. In confronting South Carolina's "dual character as both a colonial society and a slave society" (5), Olwell implicates slavery and colonialism as tightly bound systems of authority mutually shaping the Low Country's social dynamics and, in so doing, reveals

precisely how masters and slaves negotiated these systems in order to construct, perpetuate, and resist a pliable "culture of power." Previous studies have conceptualized kings as the embodiment of cultural and political continuity in a colonial setting, while portraying slavery as the most evident example of colonial adaptation. In Olwell's framework, however, Anglicization and creolization converge upon his contention that "the idea of kingship and the reality of slavery were . . . closely intertwined" (3). His assumption serves as this incisive work's distinguished guide.

Olwell examines the "continuous dialectical process of contention and concession" between masters and slaves as manifested in four "pillars of the social order" (13): the law and slave court, the established church, the marketplace, and the political economy of the plantations. He imbues laboriously crafted scenes with measured dramatic tension, and his coherent presentation of scattered evidence fully illuminates the ironies pervading a colonial slave society. Consider the establishment of the Low Country's slave court. Planters' stilted efforts to "fit the Negro Act [of 1740] within the parameters of metropolitan authority and custom" reflected the common impulse to situate periphery and center within "a shared tradition" (67). As this legal scrim wore thin, however, masters wielding the Anglicized slave law to reinforce a racially-based social order quickly found themselves confronting slaves who, although "dealt a very weak hand," chose "to play their cards with great care." Masters thus adhered to English legal procedure while accused slaves and slave witnesses, fully aware of the justices' need for a confession, routinely violated the official script. By reminding white judges of their shared Christianity, demonstrating their familiarity with the dominant language, or asserting "a continued defiance" (98) before execution, slaves practiced a calculated improvisation that mitigated their intended status as the slave law's inert pawns. Scores of similarly engaging examples underscore Olwell's argument.

Despite Olwell's obvious gift for presenting and interpreting evidence, some readers might contend with his organization of it. He acknowledges that "[t]he slave court, church, market, and great house could and did appear concurrently in the slaves' mental landscape." However, his examination of these "pillars" as fixed structures reveals the myriad manifestations of slave agency while also highlighting a need to historicize it. We find "agency" in 1724, for example, when a young slave admonished, "My mistress can curse and go to church" (131). We see it again in 1748, when a slave predicted after a slave court hanging that "blood would boil from under the gallows" (99). "Agency" appears in 1768 when a grand jury member decried the "many idle negro wenches, selling dry goods, cakes, rice, etc. in the markets" (175). Such sharp commentaries not only represent discrete forms of resistance in a colonial slave society, as Olwell shows, but they also suggest that intricately woven patterns of agency were developing over time.

While Olwell's opening chapter summarizes this period's larger demographic, political, and social trends, his succeeding emphasis on static arenas of the social order's construction obscures the ways in which slaves may have strategically combined different forms of resistance to interact with the emerging needs of a new day. For slaves, agency in 1768 may have meant something quite different than in 1724.

Nevertheless, Olwell's final chapter on the evolving interaction among slaves, masters, and metropolis during the revolutionary years should reduce any possible contention to a mere quibble. The pillars, we finally come to see, support a theater, and Olwell submits the slaves' honed sense of agency to the vicissitudes of the Revolution's drama. Thus, as we witness masters and slaves delicately confronting the possibility of revolution, acting within the limits and opportunities provided under martial law, and ultimately deciding whether or not to leave the plantation, Olwell's decision to view their relationship through a trans-Atlantic lens becomes especially clear. This perspective, and what he accomplishes through it, makes *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects* required reading for an even deeper understanding of slavery throughout the colonial British American world.

JAMES E. MCWILLIAMS

The Johns Hopkins University

The Stone Carvers: Master Craftsmen of Washington National Cathedral. By Marjorie Hunt. (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999. 199 pp. Notes, glossary, bibliography, suggested further reading and index. \$27.95. cloth.)

Marylanders who work in Washington offices may be surprised to learn that this book about men practicing an ancient craft is based primarily on interviews with two fellow commuters, Roger Morigi and Vincent Palumbo, Italian immigrants who settled in Maryland and spent the greater part of their lives carving stone for the Washington National Cathedral. Their sequential tenures in the position of master carver covered the last thirty-four of the eighty-three years this area landmark was under construction.

The older man, Roger, never learned to drive, so Vince picked him up every morning and together they drove into the city, arriving at daybreak to work not at desks, but at heavy wooden work benches or high up on scaffolds. Everything was covered in stone dust and, before long, they were, too. In working conditions, they had more in common with medieval stone carvers than with the typical Washington lawyer or bureaucrat. Over the years, their fingers thickened from repeated small injuries, hard use, and cold weather.

The younger man, Vincent Palumbo, is still employed by the cathedral to do

additional sculpture. He works alone now in the simple wooden carvers' shed where once as many as fourteen carvers worked together, doing all the special kinds of carving required. This included moldings and embellishments following architects' drawings, figures in stone following plaster models provided by various sculptors, and gargoyles and grotesques for which they were sometimes allowed to follow their own imaginations. These carvings are extremely popular with the general public.

While the cathedral was under construction, the carvers' shed reverberated with the tapping of mallets and the buzz of air hammers. It is a far quieter place today, looking curiously out of place, a tiny cottage standing in the shadow of the massive cathedral. Its reason for being there is not so obvious as it was when it stood surrounded by shaped limestone components marked with handwritten numbers indicating their intended placement, and large, select blocks ready to be carved into saints and angels. Eventually, as plans for the cathedral grounds are implemented, the shed will be removed.

Vince Palumbo recently recounted, over his lunch of homemade *pasta e fagioli*, (pasta and beans), the first time he met Marjorie Hunt, author of this book. He's used to tourists stopping to watch through the windows of the carvers' shed but one day a woman stayed for a very long time, her nose pressed against the glass. "For two hours, maybe!" he says, still incredulous. "I'm wondering —why she's watching so long?" He lifts both hands, palms up, in a typical Italian shrug. "You know, I think to myself, maybe she's crazy." Her concentration was breaking his. Even so, he was polite when he went outside to investigate. "Are you an artist," he asked, his English inflected like Italian, "Why you so interested in what I am doing?"

He had no idea then that this woman would be watching him for many years to come and tape hundreds of hours of interviews with him and Morigi and all the other past and current cathedral carvers she could find and that he would be a "star" in an Oscar winning documentary she co-produced and co-directed. This woman was not casually curious and she wasn't crazy. She was, and still is, a folklorist with the Smithsonian. She was not simply interested in what this one man was doing. She was interested in the tradition, the culture, and the social history he represented.

Hunt understood that the building of a fourteenth-century-style gothic cathedral in the twentieth century was extending an age-old way of learning and working deep into an era when everything conspired to extinguish it. For most of the century, the Washington National Cathedral provided enough work to keep busy a group of carvers with varying levels of experience. They worked together in competitive camaraderie, governed by a master who set the standard, taught by example, and assigned work according to ability. Within the workshop, carvers could learn by observing one another. Newcomers developed

skill and speed doing repetitive work, allowing the more experienced to take on projects requiring greater expertise and judgment.

This system, rooted in antiquity, was perfectly suited to convey a cumulative body of knowledge down through the centuries; to foster the development of skill and to achieve efficient production. It was familiar to Morigi and Palumbo because it was the way their fathers' shops functioned at home in Italy. There, they both entered the trade as children, hanging about, watching what was going on and waiting to be assigned small tasks. Here in America, more of the carving was done with pneumatic chisels—and there were no entry-level positions for ten-year-olds.

It was acute of Vincent to ask Marjorie Hunt if she was an artist. The length and breadth of her study manifests the same traits which characterize the carvers: dedication, discipline, and, above all, patience in taking time to do the job right. Her film came out in the seventh year and the book in the twenty-first year after they met. There is a parallel between her sensibilities and the carvers'. Her decision to let Vincent and Roger speak for themselves in both film and book was an artistic one. The juxtaposition of the immigrants' "broken English" with her own graceful and polished prose, contrasts rough with smooth, creating the light and dark "color," the chiaroscuro effect, sought and prized in carving. Her text has, as the carvers say of sculpture they are proud of, "the life."

The carver's own words, faithfully transcribed to the printed page reveal passion, wisdom, and humor and support Hunt's discourse even more convincingly than the many notes, grouped by chapter, at the back of the book.

This book is modestly beautiful without the bravado of a coffee table art book. It is well-organized and laid out with a deft touch. There are many relevant photographs placed conveniently near the corresponding text. Some are very old, some are by professional architectural photographers and some of the most telling are by the author who knew what she wanted to show and composed accordingly.

There is little to find fault with in this book. The life it portrays is romanticized to the degree that the carver's themselves romanticized it. Proud of their heritage and comfortable in their culture they knew the great purpose of their work and could see the result. They had the same problems found in every workplace such as unreasonable demands, personality conflicts and layoffs but these were not so important as what they were accomplishing. When the author talks about the cathedral carvers working in Baltimore, read between the lines.

The index could be improved with the inclusion of some significant dates and events such as ground breaking or laying the final stone. The glossary could be lengthened to include basic vocabulary words like "mason" and Italian terms such as, "cavatori" and "scalpallini" which are used in the text. Another Maryland carver, Joe Moss, noticed only one disagreement between a caption and

something in the text: on page 103, a photo caption mentions four and one-half years' work on the South Portal whereas, on page 81, Roger is quoted as saying it took "nearly a decade." Joe also pointed out to the reviewer that air hammers were used in the 1890s, on the Library of Congress (a building on which Roger's father worked), which is about ten years earlier than the year 1900 as stated in the book.

The lettering on the dust jacket and the initial letters at the beginning of each chapter are computer-rendered to simulate carved letters. This illusion is eye-catching but misleading because it depicts the u-section characteristic of letters shaped by sandblasting rather than the v-section characteristic of chiseled letters. The classical roman letter has nothing to do with the gothic style of the cathedral.

It is surprising that the greatest number of pages with no pictures at all occur in the chapter called "Learning and Process" where they would be "worth a thousand words." It is much easier to show how a tool is used than to describe it in words.

There are very few books on stone carving and even fewer about stone carvers who usually remain anonymous and unrecognized. No other book is as comprehensive as this one. It describes not only methods and tools but the work environment, both social and physical. There is local history pertaining to the building as well as the larger history of the craft. Reading the carvers' own words, we learn what motivated them, sustained them and, finally, what satisfied them. Aspiring carvers will wish that they could work in the kind of workshop documented in these pages. Until construction was suspended recently, St. John the Divine in New York City was the last stone building project in the country large enough to support a group of carvers. There may never be another.

As long as there are stone buildings to be maintained and restored and sculpture to be translated from plaster to stone, there will be a need for stone carvers but the problem is, how will they learn the craft? Beginners have three choices: joining a workforce associated with a large quarry under standards closer to heavy industry than to art, enrolling in an art or trade school which attempts to teach in the classroom what apprentices lived and breathed in a traditional workshop, or finding a master willing to accept them as an apprentice. None of these situations provides as complete an experience and, in this country, they are hard to find. There are better prospects abroad: schools in Britain, France, and Germany, where there is more work for stone carvers and there are more independent carvers, and workshops associated with the quarries in Italy and other countries. Some Americans now travel to find instruction just as foreign-born carvers once "followed the work" to America.

The *Stone Carvers* will appeal to a very broad audience: historians, sculptors, architects, artists, and craftsmen of all kinds, as well as area residents who

watched the cathedral taking shape over the years, the thousands of visitors who tour the building each year and, of course, everyone who goes there to pray.

It is common practice to give the credit for such a vast undertaking as the construction of the Washington National Cathedral to those who contributed the money and to those who designed and supervised it. This book honors the carvers who, with their own hands, made the building, truly, in the gothic style.

ANN W. HAWKINS

National Calligraphers Guild

Better Than Good: A Black Sailor's War, 1943–1945. By Adolph W. Newton with Winston Eldridge. (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1999. 182 pages. \$26.95.)

In 1943, after President Roosevelt ordered navy technical ratings to be integrated, seventeen-year-old Baltimore native Adolph Newton ran away from home (and his father's strap) to join the navy, thus becoming one of the first black men to achieve a naval rating other than mess steward. As the admiral commanding the Great Lakes Naval Training Station told Newton's class, they would have to be "better than good" to make the unprecedented integration policy work. He soon learned that was not always enough.

After training as a motor mechanic, Newton was posted to the Pacific Fleet, where he served through the end of World War II. Along the way, he learned what all sailors learn: a discipline that did not come from his father's strap—an ordered life, pride in accomplishment and in himself, boredom, frustration with military ways, terror, comradeship. He met men from all over the United States and learned about their lives and expectations. Because he was often the only black technician on board, he also learned that white men instinctively regarded black men as inferior, that southern blacks had lives much harder than even segregated Baltimore could provide, that well-intentioned whites regarded "nigger" as the proper way to address a black man, and that northern cities, while not legally segregated, still had separate black and white sections of town.

He also grew up a bit, although the typical sailor's search for booze and women occupied a lot of his time ashore. His learning curve included ways to buck the prejudices of white shipmates, sometimes with what the British call "dumb insolence," a strategy that sometimes got him disciplinary action before the captain's mast. The wartime navy seems to have tried, within its means of understanding, to make integration work, but that understanding was not always entirely sensitive. Perhaps it is not possible for a military organization to be sensitive in time of war.

The situation was entirely different in the peacetime navy. After being mustered out and returning home to Baltimore, Newton found it impossible to get a job as a motor mechanic, because blacks were not hired for that kind of job in

the Baltimore of the late 1940s. Because he had liked the navy, despite his problems, had liked the order and discipline of the service, he joined up again. But it was a different navy. Draftees who had been grudgingly willing to work with a black man so that they could win the war and return to Mom and apple pie returned to Mom and apple pie, leaving the navy with an entirely different class and mental structure. And Newton found life harder for a black man, friends more difficult to find, and racial slurs more constant and grating. He also found himself more often in trouble. Perhaps this was because the peacetime armed forces traditionally have a high percentage of southerners, both as officers and as enlisted men. It may have been because the officer corps became again the province of the more rigid career officers, now that the leaven of more liberal draftees was gone.

This time Newton was posted to the Mediterranean Fleet, and he found the Med to be to his liking, at least on shore, but here the memoir degenerates into a blur of mindless drinking and wenching which is, of course, the stereotype of the peacetime off-duty sailor. When his tour was up, he returned to civilian life with the veteran's love-hate relationship with the service, but he continued to have surprisingly nostalgic feelings for his days in the navy.

This is a valuable book and a good read. I would use it in a military history course or one on race and gender. In some ways it is an entirely typical military memoir. Every sailor will recognize the life of discipline and hard work interspersed with moments of terror and drunken revelry. In another way it is an absolutely unique book that reveals how much pain and alienation come to any person who crosses one of society's enduring "lines." While Newton found a number of real friends among his white shipmates, he found himself alienated from the black men on board ship; the mess stewards thought he had sold out to the enemy. At the same time, being "better than good" was not enough for a large number of his white shipmates, who found him "uppitty" and difficult, and of course, black.

Throughout his youth, Newton had great difficulty accepting discipline, although he found naval discipline preferable to that of his father. When he went to work for the General Motors plant in Baltimore after he left the navy, he rose to become the first black foreman south of the Mason-Dixon line. It would be interesting to learn how he developed the patience and discipline to do that. Maybe he learned it in the navy.

MARILYNN LAREW
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"Stalwart Women": A Historical Analysis of Deans of Women in the South. By Carolyn Terry Bashaw. (Athene Series: Feminist Scholarship on Culture and Education. New York: Teachers College Press, 1999. Foreword by Linda Eisenmann. 178 pages. Notes, bibliographies, index. \$24.95.)

Academic and social revolutions, like new brooms, sometimes sweep a little *too* clean; it then becomes the job of the historian to reassemble, reconstruct, and reevaluate. The office of dean of women did not survive the academic and social revolutions of the 1960s and 1970s, and while those revolutions were occurring, few would have thought to assess deans of women as having themselves been pioneering feminists and academic revolutionaries. We are indebted to Carolyn Terry Bashaw and other historians who are now reassembling the evidence, reconstructing the context, and reevaluating the significant contributions of deans of women in American institutions during the first three-quarters of the twentieth century.

Bashaw concentrates on deans of women in coeducational colleges and universities in the South, placing them in the national context (as early as 1900, half of all college women in the U.S. were enrolled in coeducational institutions), and reviewing sensitively the unique social and economic issues confronting college women in the South, particularly during the Depression. She focuses on four exemplary deans: Katherine S. Bowersox, dean of women at Berea College 1907–39; Agnes Ellen Harris, University of Alabama 1927–45, Sarah Gibson Blanding, University of Kentucky 1923–41, and the formidable Adele Stamp, University of Maryland 1922–60. Blanding went on to become the first woman president of Vassar College; Harris, who had been serving simultaneously as dean of women and dean of the College of Home Economics, stepped down as dean of women in 1945 but retained her college deanship until her death in 1952; Bowersox and Stamp remained deans of women until their retirements.

Bashaw makes a convincing case that "the leadership that deans of women exercised in defining the quality of institutional life for women students, faculty members, and professional colleagues" was essential to the success of the American experiment in coeducation in the earlier part of the twentieth century. As she demonstrates, deans of women refused to be regarded as "chaperones" to the students in their charge. By professionalizing their own jobs and taking a strong hand in campus governance, they also insured that women students and faculty members began to be taken seriously as members of the academic community. They thus laid the foundations for later generations of academic feminists.

Bashaw has made good use of primary sources, including special collections in the libraries of the institutions her exemplar deans served. However, the thread of her discussion is sometimes difficult to follow. The primary organization into chapters is broadly topical; within each chapter she attempts not only

to cover the topic but also to find that topic represented in the activities of each of her four exemplar deans. The result sometimes seems artificial or forced. In the long run, too, this arrangement fragments the discussion of each of the four deans. I found myself longing for a more coherent biographical sketch, if not a full biography, of each of these fascinating women. Bashaw does, in her epilogue, present a provocative and exciting survey of the kinds of inquiry yet to be done in the history of women's participation in higher education.

Maryland historians will be glad to see Adele Stamp given her due not only as a pioneer in women's education at the University of Maryland College Park but also as a major figure in shaping the National Association of Deans of Women. However, the treatment of Dean Stamp is in some ways the least satisfying of the four, probably because, as Bashaw notes, Stamp left no personal correspondence that would help to fill out the public biography.

Though sometimes organizationally and stylistically difficult, *"Stalwart Women"* makes valuable contributions to our understanding of an important era in the history of women in higher education. In many institutions, particularly coeducational colleges and universities, the dean of women was not only the first, but for a long time the only, woman administrator. Those of us who came after them need to be reminded of their roles in shaping the culture of American higher education. In a very real sense, it was deans of women such as Bowersox, Harris, Blanding, and Stamp who made possible the academic and feminist revolutions that resulted in the disappearance of the title—and the very idea—of "dean of women" even while all other administrative opportunities began to be opened to women. Probably all four of them would have appreciated the irony.

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Books in Brief

The Star-Spangled Banner: The Flag that Inspired the National Anthem is Smithsonian curator Lonnn Taylor's account of the museum's six-year treatment and preservation plan for the nation's most treasured symbol of freedom—the thirty-by-forty-two-foot garrison flag, made by Mary Pickergill, that flew over Fort McHenry during the British attack on Baltimore September 13–14, 1814. The flag has been in the care of the Smithsonian since Lieutenant George Armistead's descendants presented the worn and tattered banner to the museum in 1907. The volume includes accounts of the battle, the story of Francis Scott Key's poem and its elevation to national anthem, and a look at previous conservation methods.

Harry N. Abrams, Inc., paper, \$9.95

John R. McKivigan and Stanley Harold's *Antislavery Violence: Sectional, Racial, and Cultural Conflict in Antebellum America* is a collection of essays that examines violent action in the United States against the institution of slavery and its defenders during the sixty-year period preceding the Civil War. Ten scholars, including the editors, explored the circumstances in which this violence arose in incidents such as the Louisiana German Coast slave insurrection of 1811, the aftermath of the Saint Domingue revolt in post-Revolutionary Virginia, and a new look at Frederick Douglass' loyalty to his friend John Brown in the months before the Harper's Ferry raid.

University of Tennessee Press, cloth, \$30

A Layperson's Guide to Historical Archaeology in Maryland, edited by James G. Gibb is the work of the Lost Towns of Anne Arundel Project staff. The book provides a basic introduction that includes concepts of historical archaeology, studying archival documents, searching for and exploring field sites, and processing and analyzing artifacts in the conservation lab. The volume is illustrated with field maps and excavation maps, schematic and profile drawings, maps and photographs of Lost Towns site projects such as Providence, London, and Edmondo.

Archeological Society of Maryland, paper, \$7.95

The Reverend Robert Prout first referred to new St. Paul's Church in Prince Frederick, Maryland, as "our infant Zion" when he accepted the position as rector of the new Western Maryland church in 1841. Ailene W. Hutchins' *Our Infant Zion: History of St. Paul's Episcopal Church Prince Frederick, Maryland* is a

chronicle of the church's history from its founding in the middle of the nineteenth century to the present. The author discusses women in the church, Sunday school, and music, and includes photographs, lists of the church rectors, and the churchyard tombstone inscriptions. To order contact the St. Paul's Episcopal Church, 25 Church Street, P.O. Box 99, Prince Frederick MD. 20678-3514.

St. Paul's Episcopal Church, cloth, \$25

Confederate Engineer: Training and Campaigning with John Morris Wampler by George G. Kundahl is the first study of Confederate engineering in more than forty years, and combines biography with a comprehensive overview of the nineteenth-century military engineer's profession. In the years before the Civil War, John Morris Wampler moved his family to Baltimore where he worked as chief engineer of the new city water company and then laid out lands for the Hampden Improvement Association. Wampler left Maryland for Virginia only weeks before the war broke out in 1861 and went on to serve as a topographical engineer in the Provisional Army of the Confederate States.

University of Tennessee Press, cloth, \$34

Letters to the Editor

Editor:

The fine cover of the summer 2000 issue merits commentary to elucidate its significance. Coal miners' superstitions in the nineteenth century would preclude allowing women inside an active mine for fear of causing the misfortune of a roof fall or a fatal explosion of "fire damp" (methane). I suppose the picnic photo was staged on a Sunday afternoon or at an inactive mine, or else some of the miners would have refused to work—or at least grumbled. Needless to say, besides any real hazards associated with such a festive visit, those pretty light colored dresses surely required subsequent scrubbing on the washboard.

You just do not see many photographs like this one. For those who have never been inside a coal mine, photographer Thompson captured the distinct gleam of the coal seam with his lighting and several timbers are visible. Thanks for giving prominence to a splendid photo!

Johnny Johnsson

Finksburg MD

Editor:

I disagree strongly with the criticisms offered by Mr. Nelson (summer 2000) of Dr. Hardy's article on Maryland's Catholic women that appeared in the winter 1999 issue of this magazine. I find this article one of the most interesting included in the magazine in recent months.

In the first place, those of us brought up in the Protestant tradition may learn how Catholic households at the turn of the eighteenth century were organized. In the second place, the article touches on significant Catholic men who rarely appear in essays on Maryland history because their faith tended to keep them from holding public office during the early history of the state. The fact that Catholic women could and did provide places of worship for such men, as well as women, is very interesting.

Betty Bandell

South Burlington Vermont

Editor:

I have just read the interesting story on Civil Rights in the winter 1999 issue. Born in Hancock, Washington County and provided school at Mercersburg Academy in nearby Pennsylvania — which was as southern oriented as Charleston — I never went to school with a black until our freshman year at Dartmouth in 1933. There were four blacks in my class. Two of them became close friends.

Over the years, I traveled widely in the Caribbean where I have now lived for twenty-one years.

I became convinced that we had to do something about our situation with the blacks. In August 1960 I purchased the Alexander Hotel in Hagerstown — 160 rooms, twelve stories. When I returned to the hotel from the closing the manager, a Cornell graduate, asked what changes I wished to make. I said from this moment we serve ladies and gentlemen regardless of race, color, or creed. It was the first first-class hotel south of the Mason and Dixon line to do so. Three years later, as a member of the Maryland House of Delegates, I was the second speaker on the Civil Rights Bill, speaking for it from the human point of view.

R. Samuel Dillon Jr.

St. Croix

Editor:

Your review of *Marylanders in Blue: The Artillery and the Cavalry*, by Daniel Carroll Toomey and Charles Albert Earp (Spring 2000), describes the book as saying that Maryland contributed 46,672 white troops and 23,763 African-American troops to the Union army.

The book does indeed give these numbers, but they are wholly erroneous. The correct figures, as shown in the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, Series III, Vol. IV, p. 1270, are 33,995 white soldiers (or rather names; see below), 8,718 African-Americans, and 3,925 sailors and marines, for a total of 46,638.

Toomey and Earp arrived at their number 46,672 by adding the numbers of men supplied by Maryland at various times as set forth in the *Official Records* pp. 1264–69. (That total is 46,638. Toomey and Earp reached their slightly different 46,672 by absent-mindedly counting 34 men as serving who in fact paid for substitutes.) But they assume that that figure represents only white troops in the army, whereas the computation at p. 1270 of the *Official Records* shows unambiguously that it is a grand total, broken down as stated above.

A similar error in the preface to the *History and Roster of Maryland Volunteers* was pointed out in this Journal as long ago as the December 1968 issue, Vol. 63, p. 442, by Jack T. Hutchinson.

In reviewing Mr. Toomey's *Index to the Roster of the Maryland Volunteers* in this Journal, Winter 1987 issue, pp. 320–21, I again pointed out the error, observed (on the basis of an actual count) that the *Index to the Roster* in fact lists about 34,000 names for whites in the army, and showed that at least 4,400 of these represent duplications or triplications, the same man being listed several times under various ranks and in various units. When appropriate deductions are made to reflect this fact and other distortions, it appears that the number of Maryland whites who served in Union army units (including draftees) was little

more than half of the fictitious 46,000 number that keeps being repeated no matter how often it is refuted.

There has never, I believe, been any controversy or doubt about the figure of 8,718 for African-American Maryland troops, which is given in both the *Official Records* and in the *History and Roster*. I have no idea where Toomey and Earp got their figure of almost three times as many.

Yours sincerely,

Brice M. Clagett

Friendship, Maryland

Dear Brice:

I received my copy of your letter to the editor at the MHS with long unfilled dread. I have known about the errors since the day the book came from the printer. . . .

For the record let me tell you what happened. The original text read "and more black soldiers (8,718) than any border or Northern state other than Kentucky with 23,703." I plead *Nolo contendere*. You are also correct about the reference "more white soldiers (46,672)." The word white should have been deleted making it the total number. If I live long enough to write Volume II — The Infantry, I will correct these stupid mistakes.

I would like to take exception to your allegation that we "... absent-mindedly counted 34 men as serving who in fact were substitutes." Regardless of the status of a soldier, be he volunteer, draftee, or substitute, is he not a Marylander serving in the Union Army? Before anyone applies any special guilt to substitutes from Maryland, be advised that virtually all Union states supplied substitutes and in numbers that dwarf those from Maryland. In each case these numbers were applied to those states' quotas as well.

Before closing I want you to understand something. This project was an honest attempt to place the Union soldier from Maryland in his proper historic context. Something that in my opinion has never been done. That these and other editorial shortcomings have detracted from the finished project is bitter personal disappointment. However, as the publisher of record, all that is wrong with this book is my responsibility and mine alone. No one else, especially Charles Earp, should be criticized for my poor performance.

Sincerely,

Dan Toomey

Dear Dan:

Thank you for your letter of July 23.

Since you knew about the errors before the book was distributed, wouldn't it have been advisable to insert in each copy an errata sheet that pointed out the

errors? In that way you could have avoided misleading, among other readers, the Maryland Historical Magazine's reviewer. If unsold copies of the book remain, I strongly recommend inserting an errata sheet in them. The problem, of course, is that without correction these erroneous figures will become part of what is "known," and will be repeated over and over again.

The problem with the 46,672 [sic; 46,638] number is not only the omission of the word "white," as you say, but also the use of the word "soldiers," since the figure includes Navy and Marine, as well as Army, personnel.

You take issue with only one point, of very minor significance numerically, in my July 6 letter. Here I think you have misunderstood me; indeed you misquote me. I did not write that you "absent-mindedly counted 34 men as serving who in fact were substitutes"; I wrote "who in fact paid for substitutes." If you will carefully compare the table at your page 2 with pages 1266-67 of the *Official Records*, you will see that for the calls of July 18, 1864, and December 19, 1864, you have double-counted 34 men: you list them separately, correctly, as "commutations," but you also, incorrectly, include them in the figures for men "supplied." (You have not done this with the much larger figures for commutations in the Oct. 17, 1863 and March 14, 1864 calls; there you have correctly listed the men supplied, excluding the commutations.) As I tried to explain, this minor mistake is why your grand total of 46,672 is 34 more than the grand total of 46,638 on page 170 of the *Official Records*.

You raise the question . . . whether substitutes themselves should be counted as Marylanders who served (as distinct from men who paid for substitutes, who obviously should not be). I did address that question in my review of your *Index to the Roster of the Maryland Volunteers* in the Maryland Historical Magazine, Winter 1987, pages 320-21. I stand by what I wrote then: "there is no reason to believe that they [substitutes provided by Marylanders] were Marylanders at all. Normally recruited by brokers, they were, according to the federal records, mostly fresh off ships from Europe or drifters, unknown in the state in whose unit they served; many in Maryland said they were from Canada."

Sincerely,

Brice M. Clagett

Editor's Comment:

The editors would like to point out that scholars have long regarded Civil War records as unreliable and have treated them with caution.

Notices

Library Company of Philadelphia Fall Seminars

The Library Company of Philadelphia's Program in Early American Economy and Society and the McNeil Center for Early American Studies will co-sponsor two seminars in Fall 2000. On October 27, PEAES dissertation fellow Kate Carte will present "The Strangers' Store: Religion and Retail in Moravian Bethlehem, 1753–1775," and on December 1, Winifred Rothenberg will present "Mortgage Credit at the origins of a Capital Market: Middlesex County, Massachusetts, 1642–1776." The seminars will be held from 3:30 to 5:00 P.M. at the Library Company, 1315 Locust Street, Philadelphia. Participants and interested scholars are encouraged to read both papers on the LCP website, www.librarycompany.org.

Organization of American Historians Award

Individuals and editors are invited to submit published journal articles to the Organization of American Historians for consideration for the biennial 2001 ABC-CLIO America: History and Life Award. The prize of \$750 will be awarded to the author whose work creatively and provocatively explores new fields and raises new questions. Each entry must be published during the period November 16, 1998 through November 15, 2000. One copy of each entry must be received by each member of the award committee by November 15, 2000. No late submissions will be accepted. The award will be presented at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians in Los Angeles, California, April 26–29. For additional information visit the web site at www.indiana.edu/~oah or contact the Office of the Executive Director, Organization of American Historians, 112 North Bryan Avenue, Bloomington, Indiana 47408-4199 (812-855-7311).

American Quilt Study Group Call For Papers

The American Quilt Study group is seeking original, unpublished research pertaining to the history of quilts, quiltmakers, quilting, associated textiles, and related subjects. Selected papers will be published in *Uncoverings 2001: Research Papers of the American Quilt Study Group, Volume 22* and presented at the 2001 AQSG Seminar October 12–14, 2001 in Williamsburg, Virginia. The deadline for submissions is December 1, 2000. For complete submission require-

ments and manuscript guidelines contact the American Quilt Study Group, 35th and Holdrege, East Campus Loop, PO Box 4737, Lincoln, Nebraska 68504-0737 (402-472-5361).

American Association for State and Local History Award Winners

The American Association for State and Local History announced the winners of its 55th Annual Awards Program. Two area institutions earned these prestigious awards for achievement in interpretation and preservation. The National Museum of American Jewish History in Philadelphia received a Certificate of Commendation for the exhibit *Creating American Jews*, and the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation won an Award of Merit for the program "Enslaving Virginia." For information contact AASLH, 1717 Church Street, Nashville Tennessee 37203-2991 (615-320-3203).

National History Day and the History Channel Honor Maryland Educator

National Archives and Records Administration educator Lee Ann Potter received the 2000 National History Day/The History Channel History Educator Award for her outstanding contribution to history education. Ms. Potter instructs students, teachers and scholars in the use of primary source materials through the Internet, workshops, institutes, conferences, and publications. For additional information about National History Day and its awards and contests, log on to the web site at www.NationalHistoryDay.org or contact NHD, 0119 Cecil Hall, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland 20742 (301-314-9739).

Center for Historical Studies at College Park

The newly established Center for Historical Studies at University of Maryland College Park has announced its program "The Nation and Beyond" for the 2000-2001 academic year. The core of the program is a lecture and seminar series featuring scholars working on the subjects of nations and national identities who have agreed to share and discuss their works-in-progress. For dates, times, copies of seminar papers, and a full schedule of events, contact director Gary Gerstle at historycenter@umail.umd.edu or 301-405-8739.

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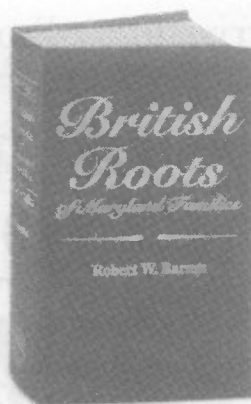
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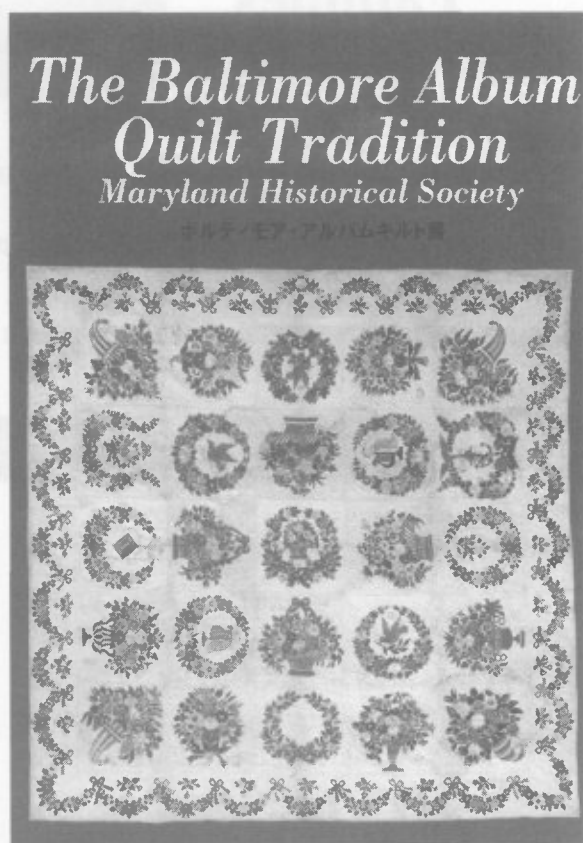
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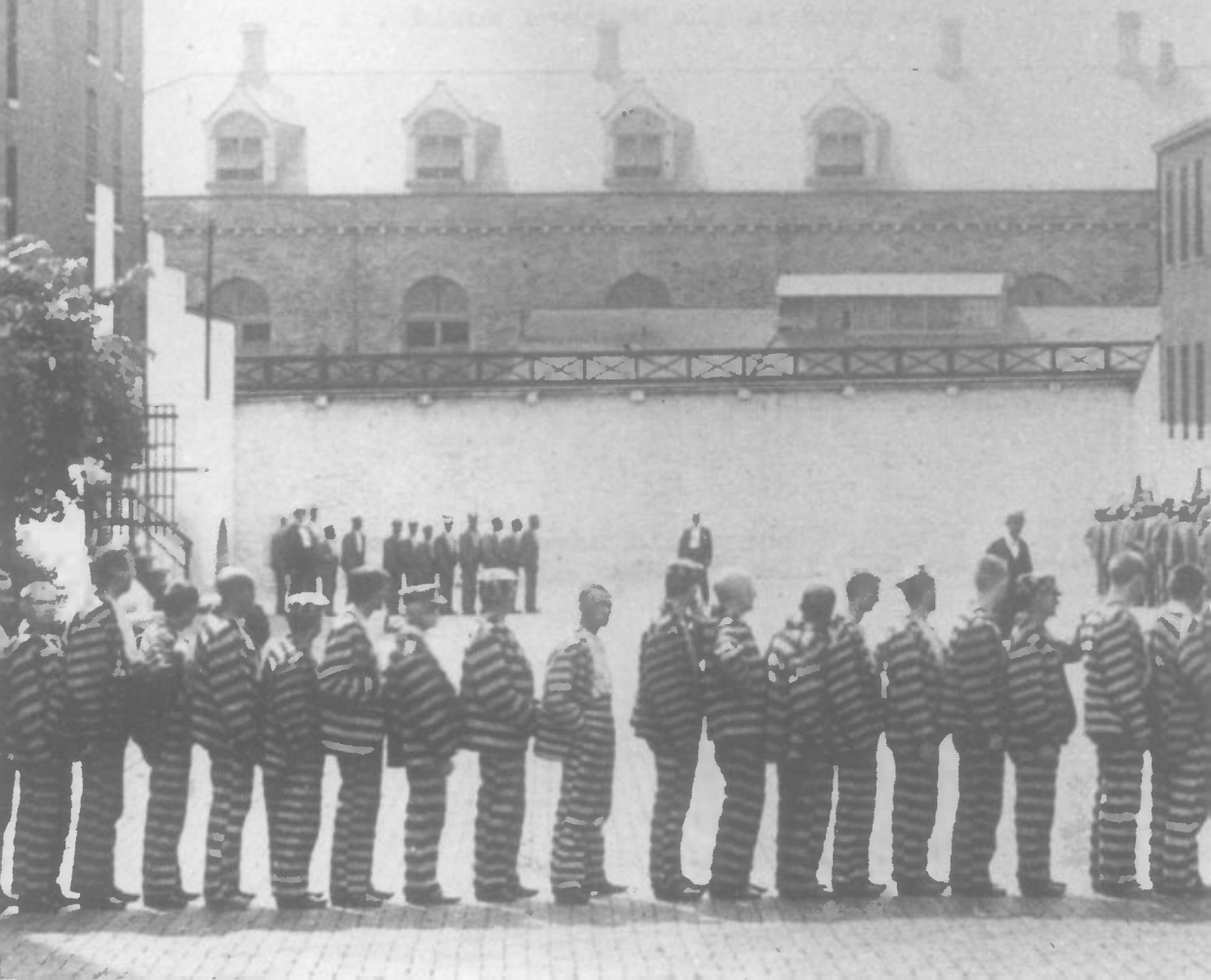
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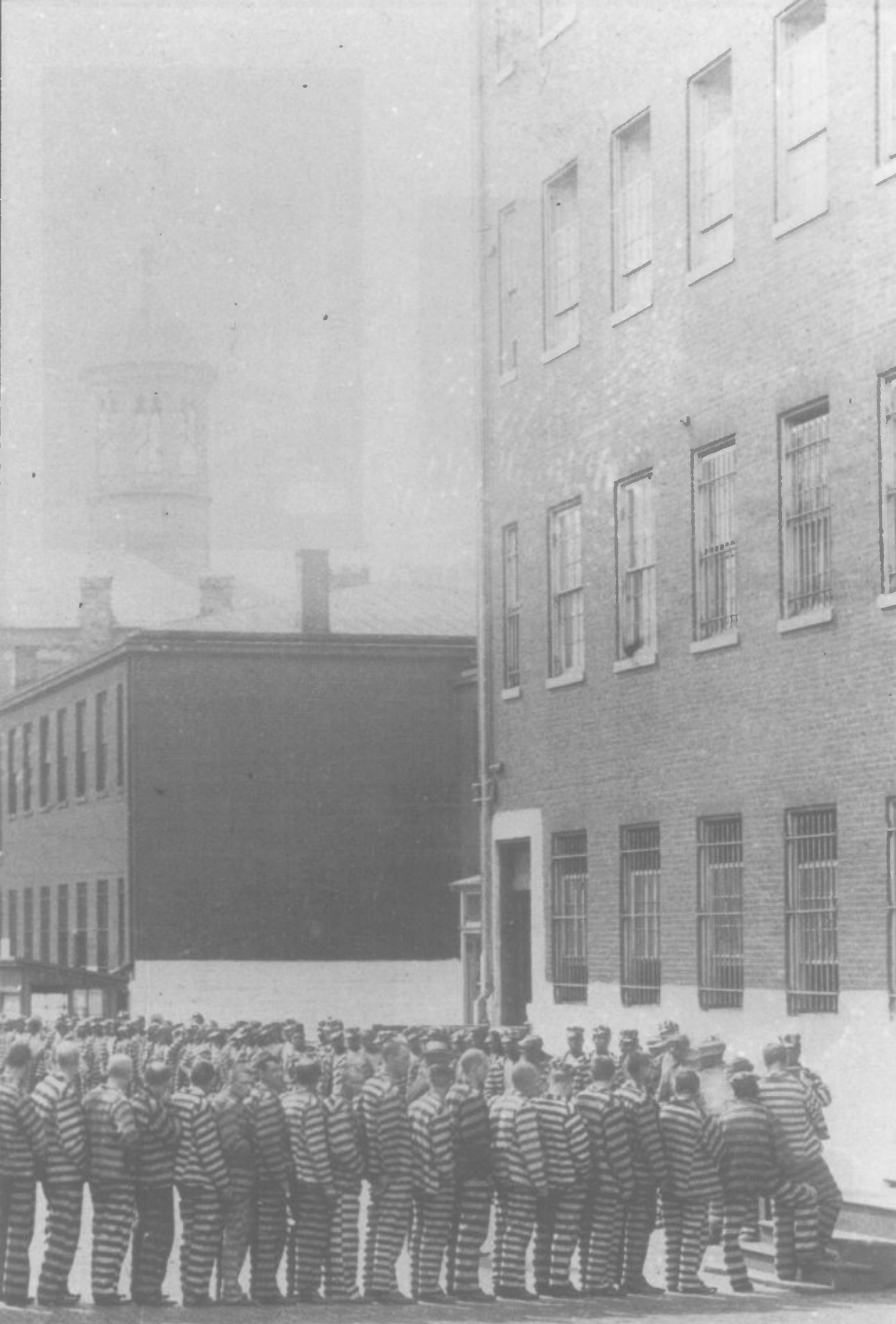
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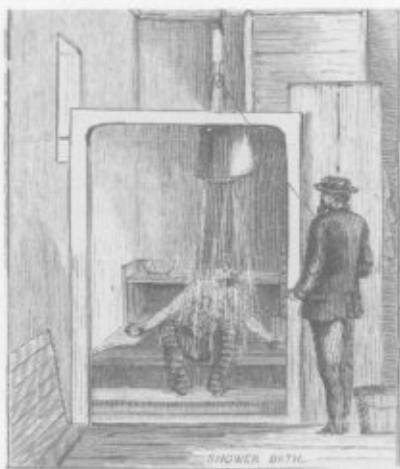
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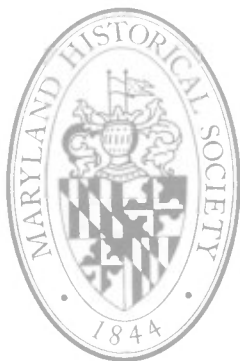
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